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ABSTRACT

This paper is about Massachusetts-born merchant George Peabody's social contacts with 10 U.S. ministers (now called ambassadors) to Britain during the 1850s and 1860s, especially Peabody's contact with John Lothrop Motley, U.S. minister to Britain at the time of Peabody's death. The paper begins with Peabody's life and commercial career; describes his transition from that of a U.S. merchant to London-based merchant banker; tells how he made his fortune; describes how and why he gave most of his fortune to found libraries, museums, and foundations; and explores why historians have called him the founder of modern American educational philanthropy. Peabody's association with Motley offers insights into Peabody's unusual funeral and helps explain why the people and press of two nations gave it so much solemnity and grandeur. The paper concludes with an assessment of George Peabody as a merchant turned international banker and educational philanthropist whose promotion of U.S.-British friendship has largely escaped historians' attention. The paper's "Afterword" sums up public memory events of Peabody since his death. Contains 194 references. (BT)

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by

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Educational Philanthropist George Peabody (1795-1869) and U. S.-British Relations, 1850s-1860s

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Introduction

Massachusetts-Born Merchant, London Banker, Philanthropist, and Promoter of U. S.-British Relations

This article is about Massachusetts-born merchant George Peabody's social contacts with ten U. S. ministers (now called ambassadors) to Britain during the 1850s and 1860s.

The article begins with George Peabody's life and commercial career, describes his transition from U. S. merchant to London-based merchant banker, tells how he made his fortune, describes how and why he gave most of his fortune to found libraries, museums, and foundations, and explores why historians have called him the founder of modern American educational philanthropy.

His death and 96-day transatlantic funeral are explored to examine why they were used by British and the U. S. political leaders to ease tension over the U. S.-British *Alabama* Claims controversy.

As a dry goods importer George Peabody made four commercial buying trips to London and Europe during 1827-37. After his fifth trip in February 1837 he remained in London the rest of his life except for three U. S. visits, **1**-September 15, 1856, to August 19, 1857, **2**-May 1, 1866, to May 1, 1867; and **3**-June 8 to September 29, 1869.

In London during 1838-64 he headed George Peabody & Co., still purchasing dry goods and other commodities from world markets for resale to U. S. wholesalers. Increasingly however he sold abroad U. S. state, federal, and private bonds and other securities to finance U. S. canals, railroads, and the Atlantic Cable. For some thirty years to his death in London (November 4, 1869), the merchant turned banker had increasing social contacts with ten U. S. ministers to Britain.

His many personal and banking favors for Americans visiting London, his U. S.-British friendship dinners in London (held often on July Fourth and other occasions), his modest lifestyle as a bachelor living simply in rented rooms, and especially his U. S. and London philanthropies won him friends, a good press, and helped his international banking business.

His good reputation at his death in London became strangely intertwined with U. S.-British difficulties over the *Alabama* Claims. To offset those difficulties leaders in both countries helped turn the transfer of his remains for burial in Massachusetts into an unusual 96-day transatlantic funeral. At death he became a part of a calculated political effort to soften frictionable relations of the time.

During his last illness in London frequent press bulletins on his condition constituted a veritable death watch. His death evoked an outpouring of praise on both sides of the Atlantic. Letters

to the editors of London newspapers urged that his memory be publicly honored.

The *Alabama* Claims were then a serious issue of U. S.-British dispute. Despite Britain's declared neutrality in the Civil War, C.S.S. *Alabama* was one of several British-built ships bought secretly by Confederate agents and covertly armed as Confederate raiders. The *Alabama* alone hijacked or sunk 64 northern vessels with large loss of Union lives and treasure.

The *Alabama* Claims were settled in September 1872 by international arbitration. Britain paid the U. S. $15.5 million in reparations. But at George Peabody's death, November 4, 1869, the *Alabama* Claims were unsettled and the cause of mutual angers. U. S. politicians and newspaper editorials were hostile. British politicians and newspaper editors were defensive.

At his death his will requesting burial in Harmony Grove Cemetery, Salem, Massachusetts, became known. British politicians quickly saw that by returning his remains ceremoniously on a royal vessel, U. S.-British hostility might be reduced. British politicians also knew that a ceremonial funeral would please their own citizens who admired his philanthropy and his twenty-year effort to improve U. S.-British relations.

His philanthropy was admired on both sides of the Atlantic. Britons were particularly surprised in 1862 that this U. S. citizen, a longtime resident banker in London, gave to a country and city not his own a gift of low cost housing for London's working poor ($2.5 million total gift). He was subsequently showered with British honors. **Ref. 1.**

British officials first and U. S. officials, not to be outdone, simply surpassed each other in funeral ceremonies unequaled then and since for a plain American citizen. This transatlantic funeral which entranced newspaper readers for 96 days (November 4, 1869, to final burial on February 8, 1870) has since been largely forgotten. Indeed, Peabody himself has largely been forgotten.

This article focuses on his social contact with U. S. Ministers to Britain, especially with John Lothrop Motley (1814-77), U. S. Minister to Britain at the time of his death. Because Minister Motley was necessarily involved in the British phase of Peabody's transatlantic funeral, the connection offers insights into Peabody's unusual funeral and helps explain why the people and press of two nations gave it so much solemnity and grandeur.

The Conclusion assesses George Peabody as a merchant turned international banker and educational philanthropist whose promotion of U. S.-British friendship has largely escaped historians' attention.

The Afterword sums up public memory events of him since his death. **Ref. 2.**

Life and Career: Younger Years

Youth

George Peabody's New England parents, Thomas Peabody (1761-1811) and Judith (née Dodge) Peabody (1770-1830), were fifth generation Americans of English origin. Of modest means, they lived in Danvers, thirteen miles northeast of Boston, two miles west of Salem, Massachusetts. In

1852 when George Peabody was age 57. Danvers was divided into North Danvers and South Danvers (his birthplace). On April 13, 1868, when George Peabody was age 73, South Danvers was renamed Peabody in his honor, and North Danvers reverted to Danvers. **Ref. 3.**

Of the eight Peabody children, four boys and four girls, George Peabody was born February 18, 1795, the third born child and second son. His father, a farmer and leather worker, was not successful. The family lived close to bare subsistence.

Young Peabody attended a district school for four years (1803-07), all the family could afford. He was then apprenticed for four year (1807-11) in Sylvester Proctor's (1769-1852) general store in Danvers. To precepts learned from Sylvester Proctor and his wife, George Peabody later said, he attributed much of his success.

At age fifteen, catching a ride with a trader who welcomed his company, he visited his maternal grandparents and worked on their farm in Thetford, Vermont, for a few months. He returned home via Barnstead, New Hampshire, visiting there his maternal aunt Temperance (née Dodge) Jewett (1772-1882?) and her physician husband. At age sixteen he went to Newburyport, fifteen miles north of Danvers, to work in his older brother David Peabody's (1790-1841) drapery shop. **Ref. 4.**

Two catastrophes then occurred amid a New England depression which shaped his future. His father died May 13, 1811, in Danvers, leaving a mortgaged home and other debts. This death created a family crisis. The family home at 205 Washington Street, Danvers, had to be given up. Young Peabody's mother with five dependent children, without a home or income, had to live with Spofford relatives in Salem and elsewhere. **Ref. 5.**

A second catastrophe, the Great Fire of Newburyport on May 31, 1811, followed eighteen days after his father's death. The fire ruined business prospects. Newburyport became an exporter of young people, including young George Peabody. His maternal uncle John Peabody (1768-before 1826), whose store was burned in the Newburyport fire, urged that they migrate to Georgetown, D. C., and open a store there. Somewhat of an adventurer, this Uncle John had no capital or credit. At seventeen George Peabody asked Newburyport merchant Prescott Spaulding for a letter of recommendation on which he got $2,000 worth of merchandise on consignment from Boston merchant James Reed. **Ref. 6.**

Forty five years later, wealthy and well known, George Peabody visited Newburyport, Massachusetts, October 2, 1856, after nearly twenty years' absence abroad as a banker in London. He recognized Prescott Spaulding in a crowd waiting to greet him, shook Spaulding's hand, and said aloud to those assembled that Spaulding had helped him at age 17 to get his first consignment of goods. **Ref. 7.**

Uncle and nephew sailed from Newburyport, Massachusetts, on the brig *Fame*, May 4, 1812, south along the Atlantic and up the Potomac to unfinished Washington, D. C. They reached Georgetown, District of Columbia, and opened a dry goods store on May 15, 1812. Uncle John, whose grand schemes invariably failed, soon developed other interests. The management of the store

fell mainly on young Peabody. He also went out as a pack peddler, selling clothes, fabrics, and other goods to scattered homes in nearby Maryland and Virginia communities. **Ref. 8.**

First Advertisement, Georgetown, D. C., 1812

His first advertisement in six issues of a Georgetown, D. C., newspaper (September and October 1812) read in part:

Just received and for sale by George Peabody, Bridge Street [Georgetown, DC]

20 do[zen] Gentlemen's Leather Gloves

200 pieces India Cotton

100 Ladies Indispensables

1,000 pr Ladies Morocco Shoes, Assorted Colours

2 cases Men's Fine Hats [and a long list of similar goods] **Ref. 9.**

The War of 1812

The White House in Washington, D. C., was under threat by British troops. Mobilization was in effect. Young Peabody's June 28, 1813, letter to his younger sister Judith Dodge Peabody (1799-1879) in Massachusetts described his situation. It was a letter written by a largely self-taught harried 18-year-old, managing a store, working as a pack peddler, who volunteered to march, drill, and bear arms under threat of a British invasion of the District of Columbia. He wrote his sister of his concerns and of the tense military situation (in part):

"...But in my Situation I cannot feel that ease & tranquillity I should wish as the management of the business in which I am engaged entirely devolves on me, and subjects me to all the cares and anxieties that generally attends it. We are also under considerable apprehensions of an attack from the British upon this district. So much so that the President has made a requisition of 500 men which have been ordered on duty and are now encamp.d within sight of this place. I was one of the detach.d members, but fortunately the day previous to the draft attach.d myself to a choir of Artillery, otherwise it would have cost me from 50 to 75$ for a Substitute. My duty however now is not the easyest having to meet every other day for the purpose of drill exercise and which is the case with every person capable of military duty in the district...." **Ref. 10.**

War of 1812 Contacts

Among George Peabody's mess mates at Fort Warburton, Maryland, was a gunner in the battery, a young lawyer named Francis Scott Key (1779-1843) who, the next year, composed "The Star Spangled Banner."

Another fellow soldier Peabody encountered was John Pendleton Kennedy (1795-1870). Kennedy became a Baltimore novelist, lawyer, statesman, and later U. S. Navy Secretary (1852-54). He was also advisor, trustee, and planner of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore, to which George Peabody gave a total of $1.4 million (1857-69). Kennedy, at George Peabody's urging during 1854-57, conceived of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore, based in part on the British Museum of London: a

lecture hall and fund, art gallery, reference library, and academy (later conservatory) of music. Fifty years after the War of 1812 Kennedy recorded in his journal his remembrance of George Peabody in the War of 1812:

> "My remembrance of him oddly enough now brings him to view in the character of a rather ambitious and showy, well-dressed and trig young soldier... –an apparition strangely incongruous with that peaceful aspect and solid gravity we are accustomed to...." **Ref. 11.**

War of 1812 Land Bounty

George Peabody served twelve days as a private in the military district of Washington, D. C., July 15-26, 1813. The next year, October 5-7, 1814, on a trip to Newburyport, Massachusetts, he served two additional days as a private in Captain Joseph T. Pike's company, Colonel Merrill's regiment, a total of fourteen days.

Forty-three years later, February 14 to 23, 1857, visiting longtime business friend William Wilson Corcoran (1798-1888) in Washington, D. C., Peabody prepared affidavits to apply for a land bounty War of 1812 veterans were entitled to by a March 3, 1855, Act of Congress. His application requested the land bounty as a memento and not for profit. **Ref. 12.**

War of 1812 Contact with Merchant Elisha Riggs, Sr.

George Peabody also met fellow soldier Elisha Riggs, Sr. (1779-1853), sixteen years older and an established Georgetown, D. C., merchant. Riggs later joked of his War of 1812 experience: "I was the first to see the British, the first to inform President [and Mrs. Dolly] Madison, the first on the field, the first off it and I did not stop until I reached my father's home near Brookville [Md.]." **Ref. 13.**

Riggs, then age 35, proposed a commercial partnership and put up $5,000. George Peabody, then age nineteen, contributed $1,650.40. In 1814 the firm of Riggs & Peabody, later Riggs, Peabody & Co., opened in Georgetown, D. C. By 1815 the firm moved to Baltimore to be nearer to the shipping lanes. The firm imported from other countries silks, linens, ready made clothes, other dry goods, and other commodities. These were bought abroad through commission agents. Through orders placed by letters the partners arranged for shipping; made arrangements for receiving goods in U. S. ports; and had the goods stored in Baltimore, New York City or Philadelphia warehouses (the latter two warehouses were acquired by 1822). They first sold their goods directly to retail stores but soon increasingly and then entirely to wholesalers as the volume of their buying and selling increased.

George Peabody was the traveling partner in the U. S. and abroad, on the road in all seasons and weather, using the available transportation of the time, arranging details of receipt, storage, sale of goods, and the collection of debts. The firm also early employed at different times three of George Peabody's brothers (oldest brother David and younger brothers Thomas and Jeremiah).

Family Provider

From about age twenty George Peabody became the main support of his widowed mother and the five younger children still at home. He regularly sent his mother and siblings flour, sugar, clothes, other necessities, and money. By 1816, then age 21, he had paid the family debts and restored his

mother and five younger siblings to their South Danvers home. Newburyport, Massachusetts, lawyer Ebon Mosely wrote George Peabody on December 16, 1816: "I cannot but be pleased with the filial affection which seems to evince you to preserve the estate for a Parent." **Ref. 14.**

George Peabody paid for the education at Bradford Academy, Bradford, Massachusetts, of five younger relatives: his brother Jeremiah, from 1819; his sister Judith Dodge during 1821-27, his sister Mary Gaines during 1822-27, his cousin Adolphus W. Peabody (paternal uncle John's son) during 1827, and his nephew and namesake (oldest brother David's son George), also during 1827. He bought a house in West Bradford for his relatives who were enrolled in the academy. His mother also lived there for several years. He later paid for the education of a nephew at Harvard University who became a lawyer, another nephew at Yale University who became the first U. S. paleontology professor, and educated other relatives at other institutions. **Ref. 15.**

Fifteen Years with Elisha Riggs, Sr.

Despite business exigencies, competition, and misunderstandings about the misdeeds of two of his three brothers working for the firm, and other problems, the fifteen-year partnership with Elisha Riggs, Sr. was pleasant and profitable. Elisha Riggs, Sr., left the firm in 1829 to become a New York City banker, his place taken by a nephew, Samuel Riggs (d. 1853), as junior partner in the renamed Peabody, Riggs and Co. (1829-48). Other Riggs family members later established the Riggs National Bank in Washington, D. C.

Forty years after their first meeting, the older Elisha Riggs, Sr., wrote to George Peabody in London:

> "But few men can look back for as many years as we both can and examine over all our business transactions in friendly intercourse with as much pride and satisfaction as we can. You always had the faculty of an extraordinary memory and strong mind which enabled you to carry out your plans better than almost any other man I ever knew, and to these I attribute much of your prosperity with extraordinary perseverance.... "
>
> Riggs went on:
>
> "40 years is a long time to look back on.... Our early acquaintance, you know, was nearly accidental, we knew but little of each other, but were both disposed to put implicit confidence in each other...."
>
> Riggs ended with:
>
> "Your friends in the United States have felt gratefully indebted to you in many ways, and more particularly for your kindness to your countrymen during the last 12 months.... I have given more letters of introduction to you than I wished but every American going to England that knows you or has heard of you asks for a letter...." **Ref. 16.**

Buying Trips Abroad

George Peabody made four buying trips to Europe during 1827-37. In the fall of 1827 he went abroad for the first time to sell southern cotton in Lancaster, England, and to buy English goods with

the profits. His passport dated October 22, 1827, signed by Secretary of State Henry Clay, described him as 6 feet 1 inch, low forehead, light blue eyes, rather large nose, small mouth, pointed chin, dark brown hair. **Ref. 17.**

"Deprived as I was"

After his second European buying trip during May 1, 1831, to May 11, 1832 (12 months), he expressed his thoughts on education in a letter to his namesake nephew George Peabody (1815-32), son of oldest brother David Peabody. This nephew, whose education at Bradford Academy, Massachusetts, his uncle had paid for, had his heart set on entering Yale College. He asked his Uncle George for financial help. George Peabody in London had returned from a fifteen month buying trip covering 10,000 miles by carriage with frequent change of horses. He had bought and shipped goods to the firm's U. S. warehouses from Ireland, Scotland, England, France, Italy, and Switzerland. Along the way he stopped when he could to visit cultural centers. Reflecting on the education and culture he had missed as a youth, he wrote his nephew that he had made financial arrangements for him to attend college.

George Peabody's letter of May 18, 1831, to this nephew throws light on his later philanthropies. He wrote (his underlining):

> "Deprived, as I was, of the opportunity of obtaining anything more than the most common education, I am well qualified to estimate its value by the disadvantages I labour under in the society [in] which my business and situation in life frequently throws me, and willingly would I now give twenty times the expense attending a good education could I now possess it, but it is now too late for me to learn and I can only do to those who come under my care, as I could have wished circumstances had permitted others to have done by me." **Ref. 18.**

Sadly, this nephew's promise was unfulfilled. He died of scarlet fever in Boston on September 24, 1832, at age seventeen. **Ref. 19.**

From Merchant to American Resident Banker in London

Bond Agent for Maryland

In the mid-1830s several states began large scale construction of roads, canals, and railroads. These states needed European investment capital, raised by selling their state bonds abroad. In 1836 the Maryland legislature voted to thus finance the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Three agents were appointed to sell abroad Maryland's $8 million bond issue. When one agent withdrew, George Peabody sought and secured his place as agent, commissioned to sell the bonds to finance the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Co. **Ref. 20.**

Securities Broker in London

George Peabody left for London on his fifth trip abroad in February 1837, at the outbreak of the financial Panic of 1837. The two other agents soon returned to the U. S. without success. George Peabody remained in London the rest of his life (1837-69), 32 years, except for three U. S. visits (September 15, 1856 to August 19, 1857; May 1, 1866 to May 1, 1867; and June 8 to September 9,

1869).

Panic of 1837 and Repudiation of U. S. State Bonds Sold Abroad

George Peabody first came to public attention in Maryland political and financial circles, and later in England, for his public stand against repudiation (nonpayment of interest). A depression that followed the Panic of 1837 caused nine states, including Maryland, temporarily to stop interest payments on their bonds sold abroad. George Peabody faced a depressed market. Foreign investors in England and Europe were angered over stoppage of interest payments on the bonds of the nine states. American financial integrity was maligned. Peabody's letters to Maryland officials, printed in newspapers, urged that interest payments be resumed and be retroactive. He bluntly informed state leaders that until interest payments were resumed retroactively, foreign bondholders had cause to berate and vilify all Americans. He also assured British and European investors publicly that repudiation was temporary and that repayment would be retroactive.

He finally sold his part of the Maryland bonds, though cheaply, for exclusive resale by London's Baring Brothers banking firm (founded 1770). His faith that the states would resume their bond interest payments bore fruit in the late 1840s. The depression eased. Maryland and the other repudiating states resumed bond interest payments. On March 7, 1848, the Maryland legislature recognized George Peabody's service and passed unanimous resolutions of praise for his financial help. In transmitting these resolutions, Maryland Governor Philip Francis Thomas (1810-90) wrote to George Peabody in London, "To you, sir...the thanks of the State were eminently due." **Ref. 21.**

The London correspondent of the New York *Courier & Enquirer* wrote:

> "...the energetic influence of the Anti-Repudiators would never have been heard in England had not Mr. George Peabody...made it a part of his duty to give to the holders of the Bonds every information in his power, and to point out...the certainty of Maryland resuming [payment].... He...had the moral courage to tell his countrymen the contempt [because of repudiation] with which all Americans were viewed.... [He is] a merchant of high standing...but also an uncompromising denouncer of chicanery in every shape." **Ref. 22.**

From Merchant to International Banker, George Peabody & Co., London

George Peabody gradually curtailed trade in dry goods and other commodities for Peabody, Riggs & Co. He withdrew his capital in 1843 although the firm's business continued to 1848. Junior partner Samuel Riggs joined Lawrence Stone & Co., connected with the Bay State Cotton Mills in Lawrence, Massachusetts. Two other younger junior partners (H. T. Jenkins and George Peabody's cousin, Adolphus W. Peabody) went into other commercial firms.

As founder of George Peabody & Co., London (1838-64), he increasingly sold American state bonds to finance roads, canals, and railroads. With others he helped finance the second Mexican War loan. He bought, sold, and shipped British and European iron and later steel rails for U. S. western railroads. He helped finance the Atlantic Cable Co. and was one of its directors.

He made the transition from merchant to London-based securities broker and international

banker. He was one of a handful of pioneer early nineteenth century U. S. merchants turned bankers who learned how to raise and use investment capital for large U. S. development enterprises. **Ref. 23.**

Loan to U. S. Exhibitors, Great Exhibition of 1851, London, First World's Fair

George Peabody & Co. prospered. Besides banking services George Peabody did personal favors for U. S. visitors to England and Europe, got them theater and opera tickets, and sent corsages to their ladies. Hearing that the U. S. exhibitors at the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London had no funds from the U. S. Congress to decorate the U. S. pavilion at the Crystal Palace, he quietly offered, through a polite note to the U. S. Minister to Britain Abbott Lawrence (1792-1855), a loan of $15,000.

This loan, which the U. S. Congress repaid three years later, saved U .S. officials and some 500 exhibitors from embarrassment. Some 6.17 million visitors to the Great Exhibition of 1851 saw U. S. products and arts to best advantage. He won praise in newspaper accounts for two lavish British-U. S. friendship dinners he gave connected with the 1851 Great Exhibition (more fully described under Minister Abbott Lawrence below). Praised in the press, he began his philanthropic gifts in 1852, becoming in the 1860s the best known philanthropist in the English speaking world. These activities brought him into growing contact with U. S. Ministers to Britain. **Ref. 24.**

Asked in an interview on August 22, 1869, how and when he made most of his money, George Peabody said:

> "I made pretty much of it in 20 years from 1844 to 1864. Everything I touched within that time seemed to turn to gold. I bought largely of United States securities when their value was low and they advanced greatly." **Ref. 25.**

The Morgan Partnership

Often ill and urged by business friends to take a partner, George Peabody on October 1, 1854, at age 59, took as partner Boston merchant Junius Spencer Morgan (1813-90). J. S. Morgan's son John Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913), at age twenty, began his banking career as New York City agent for George Peabody & Co. George Peabody retired on October 1, 1864. Unmarried, without a male heir, and knowing he would no longer control the firm he founded, he asked that his name be withdrawn.

This firm, which still exists at 23 Great Winchester Street, London, has several brass name plates. The bottom, worn with time, reads: George Peabody & Co. (1838-64), next above, J. S. Morgan & Co. (1864-1909), next, Morgan Grenfell & Co. (1910-18), next, Morgan Grenfell & Co., Ltd. (1918-89), and currently Deutsche Morgan Grenfell (since 1989), a German-owned international banking firm. **Ref. 26.**

George Peabody & Co. was historically the root of the J. P. Morgan international banking firm. George Peabody retired and spent the last five years of his life, 1864-69, looking after his philanthropic institutions.

Pride in His Firm

Honored at a George Peabody celebration in his hometown of South Danvers, Massachusetts, on October 9, 1856, he said to 1,500 listeners:

"Your reception and the events of the day overpower me. Few boys ever left a New England town under circumstances more humble than I did. None could return more honored...in his own country, and among his own kindred."

Of the banking firm he had created in London, he said with pride:

"Heaven has been pleased to reward my efforts with success, and has permitted me to establish...a house in a great metropolis of England.... I have endeavored...to make it an American house; to furnish it with American journals; to make it a center for American news, and an agreeable place for my American friends visiting England." **Ref. 27.**

George Peabody's Major Philanthropies (1 to 18 below)

More intriguing than how George Peabody made his money was why and how he gave it away. In 1820 he was worth between $40,000 and $50,000. His 1827 will left $4,000 for charity. His 1832 will left $27,000 (out of an estate of $135,000) for educational philanthropy. His philanthropic gifts ultimately approached $10 million. He early privately told intimates and said publicly in 1850 that he would found an educational or other helpful institution in every town and city where he had lived and worked. In varying degrees of importance, his seven U. S. Peabody institute libraries, with lecture halls and lecture funds were, like lyceums after 1828 and chautauquas after 1873, the adult education centers of the time. **Ref. 28.**

Seven Peabody Institute Libraries

George Peabody's major philanthropic gifts include Peabody Institute libraries in four Massachusetts towns: **1**-Peabody (June 16, 1852, total gift $217,600), **2**-Danvers (December 22, 1856, total $100,000), **3**-Newburyport (February 20, 1867, $15,000 book fund), and **4**-Georgetown (1866, $30,000). He founded the **5**-Peabody Institute of Baltimore on February 12, 1857, consisting of a reference library, art gallery, lecture hall and fund, and a Peabody Conservatory of Music (total $1.4 million). The Peabody Institute of Baltimore and the Peabody Conservatory of Music have been part of the Johns Hopkins University since 1982. He funded the Peabody Library in **6**-Thetford, Vermont (1866, $10,000) and gave $15,000 for a public library in **7**-Georgetown, D. C., now the George Peabody Room of the public library of Washington, D. C. (April 20, 1867).

Science-1: Search for Sir John Frank[illegible] (Arctic Exploration)

George Peabody gave **8**-$10,000 for scientific equipment for the Second U. S. Grinnell Expedition, 1852-54, conducted by U. S. Navy Commander Elisha Kent Kane (1820-57), searching for British Arctic explorer Sir John Franklin (1786-1847) and 137 seamen lost in 1847. An unsuccessful international search occurred in 1851-52 when New York City merchant Henry Grinnell (1799-1874) provided two ships and the U. S. Congress authorized U. S. Navy participation.

Lady Franklin then offered funds and appealed to U. S. President Zachary Taylor to "snatch the

lost navigators from a dreary grave." Grinnell again offered ships, and Congress approved a Second U. S. Grinnell Expedition under Commander E. K. Kane who appealed for funds for scientific equipment.

While Commander E. K. Kane did not find Sir John Franklin (proof was later found that he died June 11, 1847), Peabody's $10,000 gift helped initiate U. S. Arctic exploration. In appreciation Commander Kane named Peabody Bay, off Greenland, for him. **Ref. 29.**

Science-2: Three Peabody Museums

George Peabody endowed three Peabody museums of science. **9**-the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University for the study of anthropology (October 8, 1866, $150,000); **10**-the Peabody Museum of Natural History at Yale University for the study of paleontology and other natural sciences (October 22, 1866, $150,000); and **11**-what is now the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, for the study of maritime history plus Essex County historical documents (February 26, 1867, $140,000).

Science-3: Science Education in Higher Education

Peabody gave **11**-$1,000 for a Chemistry Laboratory and School, Maryland Institute for the Promotion of the Mechanical Arts, Baltimore, Maryland, October 31, 1851; **12**-$25,000 for a Professorship of Mathematics and Natural Science, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, October 30, 1866; **13**-$25,000 for a Professorship of Mathematics and Civil Engineering, Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, November 6, 1866; and **14**-$60,000 for a Professorship of Mathematics, to what is now Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia, September 1869.

The Peabody Education Fund-1

George Peabody's most influential U. S. gift was the **15**-$2 million Peabody Education Fund (February 7, 1867 to 1914) to promote public education in the eleven former Confederate states plus West Virginia, added because of its poverty. For 47 years the Peabody Education Fund helped promote public schools in the devastated post-Civil War South. It focused first on creating public elementary and secondary schools in larger towns, then teacher training institutes and normal colleges, and finally on rural public schools.

There was no precedent for the Peabody Education Fund, the first multimillion dollar educational foundation in the United States, cited by historians as the model forerunner of all subsequent significant United States educational funds and foundations. **Ref. 30.**

The Peabody Education Fund-2 (Historians' Praise)

1 - E. Merton Coulter wrote:

> "The greatest act of help and friendship that came to the South during the Reconstruction originated with George Peabody, Massachusetts-born English banker and benefactor.... The South was deeply moved by this beam of light piercing their blackest darkness."

2-Harvey Wish:

"Northern philanthropy tried to fill the gap left by Southern poverty and by Bourbon indifference to elementary education. No kindness had touched the hearts of Southerners quite as much as the huge educational bequest of the Massachusetts-born financier, George Peabody of England."

3-Edgar W. Knight:

"The Peabody Fund was a highly beneficial influence to education in the South." [and]: "The Peabody Fund...was not only the earliest manifestation of a spirit of reconciliation on the part of the Northern man toward the southern states, but it was also one of the largest educational blessings which ever came from the outside to that section of the country."

5-Paul Herman Buck:

"As in his [George Peabody's] gifts to England he had hoped to link two nations in friendly bonds, now after the Civil War it seemed to him most imperative to use his bounty in the restoration of good will between North and South.... The Peabody Education Fund...was an experiment in harmony and understanding between the sections.... Not only was the gift of Peabody one of the earliest manifestations of a spirit of reconciliation, but it was also a most effective means of stimulating that spirit in others."

6-Abraham Flexner:

"The trustees of the Peabody Fund were a distinguished group of men. No body of trust has ever contained men of higher character, greater ability and eminence, or more varied experience."

7-William Knox Tate:

"No sketch of Southern education should close without an expression of gratitude to our friends in the days of darkness--George Peabody and the Peabody Board of Trustees. No other $3,000,000 [*sic*, $1.5 million of Mississippi and $384,000 in Florida bonds were never honored by those states, leaving a total $2 million fund] ever accumulated on the earth has done so beneficent a work as has this fund."

8-J.L.M. Curry:

"Among the benefactors of education none have surpassed George Peabody in the timeliness and utility of his gift."

9-Daniel Coit Gilman:

"Mr. George Peabody began this line of modern beneficence.... The influence exerted by this agency [Peabody Education Fund] throughout the states which were impoverished by the war cannot be calculated, and it is not strange that the name of George Peabody is revered from Baltimore to New Orleans...." [About post-Civil War southern philanthropy]: "Almost if not quite all of these foundations have been based on principles that were designated by Mr. Peabody." (Gilman credited George Peabody's example with influencing the principles of the

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John F. Slater Fund, John D. Rockefeller's General Education Board, the Andrew Carnegie foundations, and the Russell Sage Foundation).

10-Thomas D. Clark:

"Since 1867 the Peabody Fund has worked as an educational leaven, and by the beginning of the twentieth century such matters as consolidation, compulsory attendance, teacher training, vocational education and general lifting of Southern standards received ardent editorial support. Especially was this true in the first decade of this century when the famous education publicity crusades were under way."

11-Charles William Dabney:

"George Peabody [was] the first of the line of philanthropists to aid the Southern states in their struggle for education after the Civil War." [And]: "The gift of Mr. Peabody in its purpose to help cure the sores of a distressed people by giving them aid for a constructive plan of education was original and unique. It was not for the mere relief of suffering; it was to lay the foundations for future peace and prosperity through enlightenment and training. In this sense he was a pioneer of a new philanthropy, which did not seek only to palliate, or merely to eliminate the causes of evil and distress, but to build up a better and stronger human society."

12-William Torrey Harris:

"It would appear to the student of education in the Southern States that the practical wisdom in the administration of the Peabody Fund, and the fruitful results that have followed it, could not be surpassed in the history of endowments."

13-Jesse Brundage Sears:

"This [the Peabody Education Fund], as our first experiment, must be pronounced a decided success and it must stand as an excellent precedent both for the future public and for the future philanthropist." **Ref. 31.**

Peabody Education Fund-3 (High Offices Held by Trustees)

Over the Fund's 47 years of operation (1867-1914), replacements by death and retirement of the original 16 Peabody Education Fund trustees totaled over 50 trustees. They came from the top ranks of American socio-political-economic life. Many held high national and state offices, some of them more than one high office:

12 trustees served in state legislatures, 1 was a federal judge, 2 were U. S. Supreme Court Chief Justices, 6 were U. S. ambassadors abroad, 7 were U. S. Senators, 7 served in the U. S. House of Representatives, 2 were U. S. generals, 3 were Confederate generals, Six were U. S. Cabinet officers, 1 was a U. S. Naval Admiral, 1 was a U. S. Army Surgeon-General, 6 were U. S. state governors, 3 were in the Confederate Congress, 2 were church bishops, 8 were U. S. presidents (including trustees of George Peabody College for Teachers and its predecessor collegiate institutions), and 3 were financiers. **Ref. 32.**

Peabody Education Fund Legacy

In his February 7, 1867, letter founding the Peabody Education Fund, George Peabody permitted its closure after 30 years. When the trustees saw that their job was done in 1914, they gave some of their principal funds to fourteen state university colleges of education in the South. The education buildings of the universities of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and of Virginia, Charlottesville, are still called Peabody Hall. Some funds given to the Southern Education Fund of Atlanta is still used for African-American education.

George Peabody College for Teachers, 1914-79

But most of the Peabody Education Fund's principal ($1.5 million plus required matching funds) went to endow **16**-George Peabody College for Teachers (1914-79), Nashville, located next to Vanderbilt University, with which it had cooperative programs for 65 years. In 1979 George Peabody College for Teachers officially merged with Vanderbilt as Peabody College of Vanderbilt University and thrives as a national leader in special education and other selected teacher education fields.

Peabody College of Vanderbilt University, Since 1979

17-Peabody College of Vanderbilt University's history of over 210 years is based on the historic linking of five collegiate institutions. That history began with Davidson Academy (1785-1806), a collegiate institution chartered by North Carolina eleven years before Tennessee statehood. Davidson Academy was rechartered as Cumberland College (1806-26), which was rechartered as the University of Nashville (1826-75). The Peabody Education Fund's first administrator, Barnas Sears (1802-80), wanted a model teachers college for the South established in Nashville. When the Tennessee legislature failed to pass state funding for normal schools in the state, Sears helped establish Peabody Normal College (1875-1909), supported mainly by the Peabody Education Fund. It was founded on the University of Nashville campus in place of its moribund Literary Department. **Ref. 33**

Move Next to Vanderbilt University

The Peabody Education Fund trustees' endowment of George Peabody College for Teachers (1914-79) was made contingent on its move from South Nashville to a new campus next to Vanderbilt University. The academic strengths of both institutions were thus forged in 65 years of cooperative courses and programs and in shared library facilities. On July 1, 1979, George Peabody College for Teachers became Vanderbilt University's seventh school, Peabody College of Vanderbilt University.

Fifteenth U. S. Collegiate Institution

Traced back to its origin as Davidson Academy (chartered in 1785), Peabody College of Vanderbilt University's lineage of over 210 years makes it the fifteenth U. S. collegiate institution after the founding of Harvard College in 1636. Because of its southern setting and private support, it faced greater class, race, and financial difficulties than counterpart colleges in other U. S. sections. Forced by lack of funds to suspend classes several times for short periods, it rose phoenix-like again and again to produce educational leaders for the South, the nation, and the world. As part of Vanderbilt

University, with which it cooperated academically from 1914. Peabody College of Vanderbilt University carried into the 21st century George Peabody's motto (which accompanied his check for his first hometown Peabody Institute Library, 1852): "Education, a debt due from present to future generations." **Ref. 34.**

Peabody Homes of London

From March 12, 1862, before the advent of municipal housing, George Peabody's endowment, the Peabody Donation Fund of London ($2.5 million total gift), built and managed low-rent **18**-model apartments for London's working poor. Its descendant Peabody Trust currently manages housing for some 27,000 low income Londoners in 14,000 Peabody apartments on 83 estates, with current assets of £900 million or about $1.53 billion. Financially, the Peabody Trust of London remains George Peabody's most successful philanthropy.

Origin of the Peabody Homes of London

Casting about in 1859 for the most useful gift for the poor of London, George Peabody considered and discarded the idea of endowing a network of purified water drinking fountains. He then considered aiding (and expanding) Lord Shaftesbury's Ragged School Union which managed charitable schools for the poorest children, before the advent of tax-supported public schools. George Peabody asked visiting longtime friend Episcopal Bishop of Ohio Charles Pettit McIlvaine (1799-1873) to consult social reformer Lord Shaftesbury (1801-85), who managed the Ragged School Union. Lord Shaftesbury told Bishop McIlvaine that the poor's greatest need, even more than schools, was low-cost housing. McIlvaine reported to Peabody his conversation with Shaftesbury:

> "He [Lord Shaftesbury] first described the wretchedness of the lodging houses of the working classes in London, as regards overcrowding, the dwelling of all ages and both sexes, crowded in the same room, brothers and sisters in the same beds, the crimes, the fevers, the dreadful air, the prostration of all energy, the impossibility of doing the people any good till they can dwell better--that many of these people are...able to pay for better lodging but cannot find them without going too far from their work."
>
> "He then said," Bishop McIlvaine reported to Peabody,
>
> "that the next unquestionable application he could think of for the large amount spoken of, which would do the greatest good and receive the approbation of all, was the provision of comfortable lodging houses under proper government with lending libraries and schools for the working people of London--that in five years the effect would be astonishing & in ten years it would have its effects on the whole class. Fever would be banished. Typhus [disappear] from among the people now dying so fast of it. Thus moral character [would be] elevated. They [the poor] seem to desire such a change but cannot effect it." **Ref. 35**

Thus from Lord Shaftesbury, an influential social reformer of the time, himself influenced by John Wesley's Methodism, came the advice that convinced George Peabody and his friends that affordable housing was the greatest need of London's working poor.

George Peabody's Philanthropic Influence on Enoch Pratt and Johns Hopkins

George Peabody's philanthropic example indirectly influenced Baltimorean Enoch Pratt (1808-96), a Peabody Institute of Baltimore trustee and treasurer. Pratt knew that its reference library collection was for scholars, that its books did not circulate, and that Baltimore needed a public library with free circulating books. Pratt's experience at the Peabody Institute of Baltimore led him to endow the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore in 1882. **Ref. 36.**

George Peabody directly influenced Quaker Baltimore merchant Johns Hopkins (1795-1873) to found the Johns Hopkins University, hospital, and medical school in Baltimore. John Work Garrett (1820-84), Baltimore and Ohio Railroad president, knew that Johns Hopkins was looking for a good cause to endow in his will. Garrett brought Hopkins and Peabody together for dinner during Peabody's 1866-67 U. S. visit. Peabody told Hopkins why and how he began his philanthropy and the pleasures he got from seeing its beneficial results. The next day Hopkins made his will, endowing the Johns Hopkins University, hospital, and medical school in Baltimore. **Ref. 37**

As briefly mentioned above, New Orleans merchant Paul Tulane's (1801-87) experience as a Peabody Education Fund trustee influenced his 1882 gift of $1.1 million to the University of Louisiana (founded in 1834), whose trustees then changed its name to Tulane University. Similarly, Philadelphia banker Anthony Joseph Drexel's (1826-93) experience as a Peabody Education Fund trustee led him to found Drexel University, Philadelphia, in 1891. **Ref. 38.**

George Peabody, U. S.-born merchant turned international banker in London, the best known philanthropist of his time, also tried to improve U. S.-British friendships. This last phase can best be seen in his increasing contacts with ten U. S. ministers to Britain.

George Peabody and Ten U. S. Ministers to Britain

1-Andrew Stevenson (1784-1857), U. S. Minister to Britain during 1836-41

George Peabody had no known direct contact with Andrew Stevenson, U. S. Minister to Britain during 1836-41. Their only connection was that Andrew Stevenson was the first U. S. citizen offered the Freedom of the City of London (February 22, 1838), which he declined as being inconsistent with his official duties. George Peabody was the first U. S. citizen to accept the Freedom of the City of London on July 10, 1862.

Andrew Stevenson was a Virginia-born lawyer who served in the Virginia House of Delegates and was its Speaker. He served as Virginia Representative in the U. S. Congress (1821-34) and was its Speaker during 1828-34. After serving as U. S. Minister to Britain, he was rector of the University of Virginia (1841-57).

The five U. S. citizens granted the Freedom of the City of London are **1**-George Peabody, awarded July 10, 1862; **2**Ulysses Simpson Grant (1822-85), U. S. general and 18th U. S. president during 1869-77, awarded June 15, 1887; **3**Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919), 26th U. S. president during 1901-09, awarded May 31, 1910; **4**-U. S. General John Joseph Pershing (1860-1948), awarded July 18, 1919; and **5**-Dwight David Eisenhower (1890-1969), general and 34th U. S.

president during 1953-61, awarded June 12, 1945. **Ref. 39**

2-Edward Everett (1794-1865), U. S. Minister to Britain during 1841-45

Edward Everett was a U. S. clergyman, educator, statesman, and an acclaimed orator of his time. He was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, was a Harvard graduate (B.A., 1811, M.A., 1814), was one of the first U. S. scholars to study at a German university (Göttingen); was Harvard University professor of Greek literature (1819-26), U. S. House of Representatives member (1824-34), Massachusetts governor (1836-39), U. S. Minister to Britain (1841-45), Harvard University president (1846-49), U. S. Secretary of State (1852-53), and U. S. Senator (1853-54). As principal speaker at the dedication of the Gettysburg cemetery, November 19, 1863, his two-hour speech is now largely forgotten, while President Abraham Lincoln's short address which followed became famous.

Edward Everett was one of several prominent Massachusetts statesmen who sent congratulatory letters to Danvers, Massachusetts, citizens, June 16, 1852, on the celebration of the 100th year of separation of Danvers from Salem, Massachusetts. Invited to Danvers' centennial celebration but unable to attend, George Peabody's letter from London, May 26, 1852, was read to those assembled by his boyhood classmate, John Waters Proctor (1791-1874). With his letter he enclosed a $20,000 check for his first Peabody Institute Library of South Danvers (renamed Peabody in 1868), first of a total of $217,000 he gave to that institute library. With his letter and check was his sentiment: "Education: a debt due from present to future generations." **Ref. 40.**

Edward Everett's Speech, October 9, 1856, South Danvers, Massachusetts

Four years later, during May 1, 1856 to May 1, 1857, George Peabody visited the U. S., his first visit after nearly twenty years' absence in London. He was inundated by offers of public receptions, but declined all but from his hometown citizens. His sister Judith had alerted him while still in London that South Danvers citizens had voted $3,000 for a public welcome for him, that they "will be extremely disappointed if they do not do much more than anybody else and do it first. They are tenacious of their right to you." **Ref. 41.**

The South Danvers George Peabody Celebration, October 9, 1856, was a gala affair. After short speeches by Massachusetts Governor Henry J. Gardner (1818-92) and others, main speaker Edward Everett said (in part):

> "While in England I had the opportunity to witness Mr. Peabody's honorable position in commerce and social circles.... When American credit stood low and the individual states defaulted their trust, our friend stood firm and was the cause of firmness in others. When few would be listened to on the subject of American securities in the parlor of the Bank of England, his judgment commanded respect; his integrity won back trust in America. He performed the miracle by which the word of an honest man turns paper into gold.
>
> "He promoted the enjoyment of travelling Americans as so many here can attest. The United States Minister in England, with little funds, could not bring together Americans and Englishmen and women in convivial friendship. Our honored guest, with ample means,

corrected this defect. At the first world's fair in London, 1851, the exhibitors of other nations went officially supplied with funds to display their nation's wares. The American exhibitors found a large place to fill naked and unadorned. At the critical moment when the English press ridiculed the sorry appearance we presented, our friend stepped forward and did what Congress should have done. Our products were shown at their best. Leading British journalists admitted that England derived more benefit from the contributions of the United States than from any other country.

"Time and again he brought together men of two nations to drink from loving cups of goodwill. These are some reasons we welcome to old Danvers one of her greatest sons. (Great cheering.)

"When on the 16th of June, 1852, Danvers celebrated its one hundredth year of separate existence our friend sent a slip of paper containing a noble sentiment. Now a slip of paper can easily be blown away. So, as a paperweight, to keep the toast safe on the table to repay his debt, Mr. Peabody laid down $20,000 and has since doubled it." **Ref. 42.**

Edward Everett Suggested a "School of Design" as Peabody's Gift to Harvard

George Peabody consulted Edward Everett among others about a philanthropic gift to Harvard University. George Peabody's first gift idea for Harvard in 1861, an astronomical observatory, he discussed in letters to a cousin, Francis Peabody of Salem, with William Henry Appleton (1814-84) of Boston, and with Edward Everett (former Harvard president during 1846-49). Everett thought Harvard University needed a "School of Design" [i.e., art] more than an astronomical observatory. George Peabody's Harvard gift idea went through a third change, from astronomical observatory to Edward Everett's suggested School of Design or art, to a museum for archaeology and ethnology, largely through the influence of his nephew Othniel Charles Marsh (1831-99).

Nephew O. C. Marsh

George Peabody had paid for the education of nephew O. C. Marsh through Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, Yale College, and Yale's graduate Sheffield Scientific School. During 1862-65 George Peabody paid for Marsh's doctoral study at the universities of Hamburg, Breslau, and Berlin, Germany; paid for Marsh's library of paleontology books, and for the shipment of two and a half tons of fossil bones sent to Yale University, where Marsh became the first U. S. paleontology professor.

Nephew O. C. Marsh spoke with his uncle George Peabody in London in October 1862 about new scientific findings, about evolutionist Charles Darwin, and about other European scientists Marsh had conferred with. Marsh turned uncle George Peabody's thoughts of gifts for Harvard and Yale universities toward science. Marsh described these talks in letters to his mentor, Yale Professor Benjamin Silliman, Jr. (1816-85):

"I had a long talk with Mr. P. in regard to his future plans and donations.... I will tell you confidentially that Harvard will have her usual good fortune. So many of our family have

been educated at Harvard that he naturally felt a greater interest in that institution than in Yale, of which I am the only representative. I can assure you, however, that I did [not] allow the claims of my Alma Mater to be forgotten...and I have strong hopes that she may yet be favored although nothing is as yet definitely arranged. The donation to H. [Harvard] is a large one and for a School of Design...." **Ref. 43.**

George Peabody visited the U. S. during May 1, 1866 to May 1, 1867. After consulting knowledgeable friends he founded the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University (October 8, 1866) and the Peabody Museum of Natural History at Yale University (October 22, 1866). He gave each $150,000. He also founded what is now the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts (February 26, 1867, $140,000), for maritime history and Essex County historical depository. **Ref. 44.**

3-George Bancroft (1800-91), U. S. Minister to Britain during 1846-49

George Peabody had no known contact with George Bancroft, U. S. Minister to Britain during 1846-49, and also a distinguished U. S. historian, author of the *History of the United States*, ten volumes published during 1834-74. Peabody did have friendly relations with George Bancroft's nephew, John Chandler Bancroft Davis (1822-1907), Secretary of the U. S. legation in London during 1849-54. Peabody sometimes dined with J. C. B. Davis, born in Worcester, Massachusetts, and with Davis's Harvard College classmate, Vermont-born Henry Stevens (1819-86), a rare book dealer and London resident, who later acted as George Peabody's agent in book shipments to Peabody Institute libraries. Davis and Stevens lived for some years in the same Morley's Hotel, London. **Ref. 45.**

On November 24, 1848, Davis, Stevens, and Peabody dined at the home in East Sheen, near London, of Joshua Bates (1788-1854), born in Weymouth, Massachusetts, who went to London in the early 1800s. Bates became first agent, then partner (at age 38), and soon after head of the Baring Brothers banking firm. Bates became a naturalized British subject, was the most prominent U. S.-born financier in London in the 1840s, and George Peabody's friendly business rival.

Meeting Novelist Herman Melville

The dinner guest of honor was U. S. author Herman Melville (1819-91), who later wrote *Moby Dick* (1851). Melville was in London, on his only trip abroad, to market his manuscript, *White Jacket*. They talked at dinner about Melville's older brother Gansevoort Melville (1815-46), former U. S. legation secretary who died two years before and whom those present had known. Melville's journal mentioned meeting George Peabody:

"On my right was Mr. Peabody, an American for many years resident in London, a merchant, & a very fine old fellow of fifty or thereabouts." [Melville continued:] "I had intended to remain over night...but Peabody invited me to accompany him to town in his carriage. I went with him, along with Davis, the Secretary of Legation.... Mr. Peabody was well acquainted with Gansevoort when he was here. He saw him not long before his end. He told me that Gansevoort rather shunned society when here. He spoke of him with such

feeling." **Ref. 46.**

4-Abbott Lawrence (1792-1855), U. S. Minister to Britain During 1849-52

Abbott Lawrence was born in Groton, Massachusetts. With his brother Amos Lawrence (1786-1852), he started cotton textile mills in Lowell, Massachusetts, and in Lawrence, Massachusetts (named after him). He was a member of the U. S. Congress (1835-37, 1839-40), served on the Northeast Boundary Commission (1842), and gave $50,000 to found the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard University (1840s). George Peabody had extended contact with U. S. Minister Abbott Lawrence during the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London, the first world's fair.

The idea of the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London originated with Henry Cole (1808-82), member of the Society of Art (later Royal Society of Art), who had arranged several industry and art expositions. The idea occurred to him in 1848 for a first world's fair, with each nation showing its best industrial and art products. Knowing that such a large enterprise needed royal sponsorship, Cole turned to Prince Albert (1819-61), Queen Victoria's husband and president of the Society of Art. German-born Prince Albert nurtured the idea to reality. A Royal Commission (January 3, 1850) helped raise funds, issued contracts, and invited the world's nations to participate. Joseph Paxton (1801-65) designed the striking glass-covered Crystal Palace in Hyde Park to house the Great Exhibition. **Ref. 47.**

Abbott Lawrence: Great Exhibition of 1851 in London, First World's Fair

The U. S. Congress appointed nonpaid commissioners who selected U. S. industrial and art objects to exhibit. Congress also authorized the U. S. Navy's *St. Lawrence* to transport U. S. products and exhibitors to Southampton, England (February 1851). But Congress did not appropriate funds to adorn the large (40,000 square foot) U. S. pavilion. Crates strewn about the unadorned pavilion provoked the satirical *Punch* to poke fun at "the glaring contrast between large pretensions and little performance...by America." The London correspondent of the New York *Evening Post* called it "a national disgrace that American wares...are so barely displayed; so vulgarly spread out over so large a space." **Ref. 48.**

George Peabody was then a comparatively little known U. S. resident merchant banker in London (since February 1837). Without funds to decorate the U. S. exhibit, U. S. Minister Abbott Lawrence, his legation staff, and other Americans in London were embarrassed, knowing it might take months for Congress to appropriate funds, if at all. George Peabody quietly offered a $15,000 loan through Minister Lawrence. U. S. exhibitors and especially Minister Lawrence were relieved of embarrassment and grateful to George Peabody. Partly through George Peabody's loan, which Congress repaid three years later, some 6.17 million visitors to the first world's fair saw displayed to best advantage Albert C. Hobbs' (1812-91) unpickable lock, Samuel Colt's (1814-62) revolvers, Hiram Powers' (1805-73) statue, the *Greek Slave*, Cyrus Hall McCormick's (1809-84) reapers, Richard Hoe's (1812-86) printing press, and William Cranch Bond's (1789-1859) spring governor. **Ref. 49.**

For visiting Americans in London and in the international spirit of the Great Exhibition, George Peabody proposed to host a U. S.-British friendship dinner. He chose July 4, 1851, U. S. Independence Day, which would appeal to Americans, but might be resented by disdainful British aristocrats.

Abbott Lawrence: July 4, 1851, Dinner; Will British Society Attend?

George Peabody had earlier hosted small scale U. S.-British friendship dinners. His motive, as in making the loan to the U. S. exhibitors, was to improve U. S.-British relations. Criticism of the U. S. in London newspapers and anti-British reports in U. S. newspapers saddened him. He was painfully aware of past strained relations. It had been ten years since the U. S.-British dispute over the Maine boundary, 37 years since the War of 1812, 75 years since the American Revolution. Wondering if British society would attend his July 4th dinner, George Peabody sounded out Minister Abbott Lawrence and others. Minister Lawrence discreetly asked the opinion of London social leaders. On June 26, 1851, he found a wary reaction to the idea. In a private and confidential letter he warned George Peabody:

> "Lady Palmerston was here. She has seen the leading ladies of the town and quoted one as saying the fashionables are tired of balls. I am quite satisfied that the fashionables and aristocracy of London do not wish to attend this Ball. Lady Palmerston says she will attend. I do not under those circumstances desire to tax my friends to meet Mrs. Lawrence and myself--Your party then I think must be confined to the Americans--and those connected with America, and such of the British people as happen to be so situated as to enjoy uniting with us." **Ref. 50.**

Prospects looked dim. Wanting to build on the Great Exhibition spirit of goodwill, George Peabody thought his dinner might succeed if a distinguished British hero was guest of honor. Through friends, George Peabody approached the Duke of Wellington (Arthur Wellesley Wellington, 1769-1852), then England's greatest living hero. The man who beat Napoleon at Waterloo reportedly huffed, "Good idea." When it was known that the 84-year-old Duke of Wellington would attend, British society followed. George Peabody's Friday night, July 4, 1851, dinner succeeded enormously. **Ref. 51.**

Abbott Lawrence: July 4, 1851 Dinner and the Duke of Wellington

The Friday night, July 4, 1851, dinner was held at the exclusive Willis's Rooms, sometimes called Almack's. George Peabody hired a professional master of ceremonies, a Mr. Mitchell of Bond Street. On either end of the spacious ballroom were portraits of Queen Victoria and George Washington. Flowers were tastefully arranged. English and U. S. flags were skillfully blended. More than a thousand guests came and went that evening. Eight hundred sat down to dinner. Present were members of Parliament, former Tennessee Governor Neill Smith Brown (1810-86, then U. S. Minister to Russia); London's Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress; the Bank of England's junior governor Thomson Hankey (1805-93); Baroness Angela Georgina Burdett-Coutts (1814-1906), greatest woman

philanthropist of the 19th century; Joseph Paxton of Crystal Palace fame; and other English nobility. An orchestra played and a ball followed in a spacious ballroom decorated with medallions and mirrors, lit by 500 candles in cut-glass chandeliers.

At 11 P.M. as the Duke of Wellington entered, the band struck up "See the Conquering Hero Comes." George Peabody approached the iron duke, shook his hand, and escorted him through the hall amid applause, and introduced him to U. S. Minister Abbott Lawrence. **Ref. 52.**

Abbott Lawrence: July 4, 1851, Dinner Praised

The London *Times* reported that His Grace had a good time and left at a late hour. The same article referred to George Peabody as "an eminent American merchant." The *Ladies' Newspaper and Pictorial Time* had a large woodcut illustration of George Peabody introducing the Duke to Abbott Lawrence. Even the aristocratic London *Morning Post* took favorable note of the affair.

U. S. Minister Abbott Lawrence, gushing with pride and thanks, wrote to George Peabody:

> "I should be unjust...if I were not to offer my acknowledgments and heartfelt thanks for myself and our country for the more than regal entertainment you gave to me and mine, and to our countrymen generally here in London.
>
> "Your idea of bringing together the inhabitants of two of the greatest nations upon earth...was a most felicitous conception.... I congratulate you upon the distinguished success that has crowned your efforts.... [You have] done that which was never before attempted." **Ref. 53.**

Abbott Lawrence: October 27, 1851, Dinner to Departing U. S. Exhibitors

Invited on October 6, 1851, by departing U. S. exhibitors to be guest of honor at a farewell dinner, Peabody gratefully declined. He said they had overestimated his services, and added that his fifteen years in London had erased sectional and political difference.

This invitation may have prompted his own October 27, 1851, dinner to the departing exhibitors. It was grander and better received than his July 4, 1851, dinner. Also, he had the proceedings and speeches recorded and printed in beautifully bound books, copies selectively distributed to U. S. and British officials.

The October 27, 1851, dinner was held at the London Coffee House, Ludgate Hill, where Benjamin Franklin had met friends to discuss American colonial affairs over food and drink. British and U. S. flags draped life-size paintings of Queen Victoria, George Washington, and Prince Albert. Pennants and laurel wreaths decorated the long hall. At 7:00 P.M. George Peabody took the chair, grace was said, and dinner was served to 150 U. S. and British guests, many of them connected with the just-closed Great Exhibition of 1851.

The toastmaster, a Mr. Harker, began: "Mr. Peabody drinks to you in a loving cup and bids you all a hearty welcome." A U. S.-made loving cup of English oak, inlaid with silver, inscribed "Francis Peabody of Salem to George Peabody, of London, 1851," was passed around until each guest tasted from it. After dessert George Peabody rose and first toasted, "The Queen, God bless her." All

stood as the band played *God Save the Queen*. He then toasted "The President of the United States. God bless him." All rose while *Hail Columbia* was played. His third toast to "The health of His Royal Highness Prince Albert" brought more flourishes of music. After U. S. Minister Abbott Lawrence was toasted, the band played *Yankee Doodle*. **Ref. 54.**

Abbott Lawrence: October 27, 1851 Dinner Speeches

U. S. Minister Lawrence spoke of the many ties binding the U. S. and Britain. He praised Sir Joseph Paxton, "The man...who...[planned] a building such as the world never saw before." He praised Earl Granville (Granville George Leveson-Gower, 1815-91), who had "the skill and enterprise to execute the plan." He praised Sir Henry Bulwer-Lytton (William Henry Lytton Earle Bulwer, 1801-72), British ambassador to the U. S.

To the departing exhibitors Minister Lawrence said:

> "We came out of the Exhibition better than was first anticipated.... You will take leave of this country...impressed with the high values of the Exhibition...in the full belief that you have received every consideration." **Ref. 55.**

Sir Henry Bulwer-Lytton, grasping the hand of Abbott Lawrence, said:

> "I clasp your hand as that of a friend and claim it as that of a brother. [Cheers] The idea of this Great Exhibition...was...to collect...the mind of the whole world, so that each nation might learn and appreciate the character and intelligence of the other."
>
> "You live under a Republic," [he said to the Americans], "and we under a Monarchy, but what of that? The foundations of both societies are law and religion; the purpose of both governments is liberty and order." "Hand in hand" [he concluded], "we can stand together...the champions of peace between nations, of conciliation between opinions." **Ref. 56.**

Ending the festivities, George Peabody stood and when the cheers subsided said:

> "I have lived a great many years in this country without weakening my attachment to my own land.... I have been extremely fortunate in bringing together...a number of our countrymen...and...English gentlemen [of] social and official rank.... May these unions still continue, and gather strength with the gathering years." **Ref. 57.**

The proceedings lasted more than four hours. Good reports of its effect reverberated in the press.

Abbott Lawrence: October 27, 1851 Dinner: Press Reports

The *New York Times* gave two full columns to the dinner. Another New York City newspaper stated:

> "George Peabody's dinners were timed just right. For years there have been built up antagonism and recrimination. Suddenly a respected American, long resident in London with a host of American and English friends, brings them together. The thing works and...elicits applause and appreciation from both the American and English press." **Ref. 58.**

Great Exhibition participant Charles B. Haddock's (1796-1861) letter in a New Hampshire newspaper stated:

> "Mr. Peabody's dinner to the departing Americans had several good effects. (1) It highlighted American achievement at the Exhibition; (2) brought George Peabody into notice; (3) raised Abbott Lawrence's esteem as United States Minister to England."

Haddock continued:

> "It is something to have sent to the Exhibition the best plough, the best reaping machine, the best revolvers--something to have outdone the proudest naval people in the world, in fast sailing and fast steaming, in her own waters.... Moreover, it is a great pride for America to have George Peabody and Abbott Lawrence in England who represent the best of America and uphold its worth and integrity." **Ref. 59.**

Haddock referred to the U. S. yacht *America*, which won the 1851 international yacht race, defeating the English yacht *Baltic* in British waters. The first prize (a silver tankard) has since been known as America's Cup. **Ref. 60.**

Abbott Lawrence: October 27, 1851, Dinner Proceedings Book.

George Peabody commissioned book dealer Henry Stevens to compile and print the dinner menu, toasts, proceedings, and speeches in book form. Henry Stevens was a Barnet, Vermont-born graduate of Yale College (1841) and Harvard Law School. He went to London in July 1845, remained there for the rest of his life as a rare book dealer and bibliographer, bought U. S. books for the British Museum, and sold British books to U. S. libraries. Stevens had 50 copies of the *Proceedings* printed and bound in cloth by November 25, 1851, and sent copies to departing U. S. exhibitors. **Ref. 61.**

Through U. S. Minister Abbott Lawrence, George Peabody gave a copy printed on vellum to U. S. President Millard Fillmore (1800-74). President Fillmore acknowledged receipt and wrote to Abbott Lawrence:

> "From all I have heard of Mr. Peabody, he is one of those 'Merchant Princes' who does equal honor to the land of his birth and the country of his adoption. This dinner must have been a most grateful treat to our American citizens and will long be remembered by the...guests...he entertained as one of the happiest days of their lives.... The banquet shows that he still recollects his native land with fond affection, and it may well be proud of him." **Ref. 62.**

U. S. Minister Lawrence also sent copies on vellum to Prince Albert, The Duke of Wellington, and Lord Granville. Lawrence wrote to George Peabody:

> "I have a note from Colonel Grey [1804-70], the Secretary of Prince Albert, acknowledging the receipt of your beautiful volume with expressions of thanks to you for it, from his Royal Highness." **Ref. 63.**

U. S. Minister Abbott Lawrence's son, after sending copies to Boston dignitaries, wrote to George Peabody that the book was "much talked of in Boston and has been greatly praised." George Peabody's nephew George Peabody Russell (1834-?) wrote from Harvard (where his uncle was

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paying for his college education):

> "Your parting entertainment to the American Exhibitors has caused your name to be known and appreciated on this side of the Atlantic.... In fact, you have become quite a public character." **Ref. 64.**

Abbott Lawrence: October 27, 1851, Dinner Aftermath.

Praise of George Peabody in Baltimore newspapers may have prompted the Maryland Institute for the Promotion of the Mechanical Arts to make him an honorary member. He read of the Maryland Institute's effort to raise funds for a school of chemistry. George Peabody wrote the Maryland Institute's President William H. Keighler, Oct. 31, 1851, enclosing a $1,000 gift for the chemistry school "as a small token of gratitude toward a State from which I have been mighty honored, and a City in the prosperity of which I shall ever feel the greatest interest." **Ref. 65.**

This still little known gift began George Peabody's educational philanthropy. The next year, June 1852, when his hometown of Danvers, Mass., celebrated its 100th year of separation from Salem, Massachusetts, George Peabody, who could not attend, sent his first check to found his first Peabody Institute Library, accompanied by a motto, "Education--a debt due from present to future generations." **Ref. 66.**

Washington, D. C., friend William Wilson Corcoran wrote to George Peabody, "You will make us proud to call you friend and countryman." Peabody replied:

> "However liberal I may be here, I cannot keep pace with your noble acts of charity at home; but one of these days I mean to come out, and then if my feelings regarding money don't change and I have plenty, I shall become a strong competitor of yours in benevolence." **Ref. 67.**

Thus, during Abbott Lawrence's years as U. S. Minister to Britain, George Peabody emerged as a significant promoter of U. S.-British friendship. He had early told only a few intimates that he planned to found an educational institution in each city where he lived and worked. Praise for his loan to the U. S. exhibitors and praise for his two Exhibition-connected dinners furthered his philanthropic plans. In the 1850s he emerged socially. In the 1860s he became the best known philanthropist of his time.

Lawrence to Peabody on the 1854 Sickles Affair

Abbott Lawrence had ceased to be U. S. Minister to Britain and was in Boston when he read of the July 4, 1854, Sickles Affair during a George Peabody-sponsored U. S.-British friendship dinner in London. This incident, which caused a stir in the U. S. and British press, is referred to in greater detail below under James Buchanan, U. S. Minister to Britain during 1853-56.

Minister Buchanan's superpatriotic Legation Secretary Daniel Edgar Sickles (1825-1914) refused to stand when Peabody toasted Queen Victoria before he toasted the U. S. President. Sickles, who walked out of the dinner "red-gorged and angry," started a press campaign of libel, accusing George Peabody of being unpatriotic and of "toadying" to the British.

Having followed the controversy in the Boston newspapers, Abbott Lawrence wrote George Peabody in November 1854 in sympathy:

> "I beg to say that I have read your late printed correspondence which I am sure as a private gentleman must have been unpleasant to you, but you may feel the most entire assurance, that your personal honor, and the high character you have always sustained has not suffered in any respect. If I were with you, I would say dismiss the whole question from your mind, and never give it another moment of your consideration.
>
> "I know you to be incapable of compromising your own honor or that of your country. The attack made upon you I deem unworthy of any man who professes to be a gentleman. Your misfortune was in having persons about you who were not worthy to be at your table. I had hard work to get rid of some men in England who hung about me, but cost what it would I would not permit a certain class of adventurer to approach me." **Ref. 68.**

Abbott Lawrence, 1856: Peabody's Last Tribute

George Peabody paid his last tribute to Abbott Lawrence a year after Lawrence's death in Boston on August 18, 1855. It was during Peabody's speech in South Danvers, Massachusetts, on October 9, 1856, before 1,500 guests honoring him on his first return to the U. S. after nearly twenty years' absence in London (since February 1837). Toward the end of his speech, George Peabody turned to the main speaker on the platform with him, Edward Everett, and said: "To no one can I turn more confidently for cooperation than to you, Sir, who filled with credit the office of United States Minister of England." Then, referring to Abbott Lawrence, who had succeeded Edward Everett as U. S. Minister to Great Britain, George Peabody reminisced:

> "The cornerstone of the Peabody Institute [of South Danvers, renamed Peabody in 1868] was laid by Abbott Lawrence, now gone, who followed worthily in Mr. Everett's footsteps. I admired his talents, respected his virtues, loved him as a friend. He too worked for conciliation and goodwill between the two countries. I pay tribute to his memory." **Ref. 69.**

5-Joseph Reed Ingersoll (1786-1868), U. S. Minister to Britain during 1852-53

George Peabody gave a dinner in London on October 12, 1852, to introduce incoming U. S. Minister Joseph Reed Ingersoll and his niece, Miss Wilcocks. The dinner also honored Abbott Lawrence, departing U. S. Minister to Britain. Among the many guests present were the Weymouth, Massachusetts-born head of the Baring Brothers, Joshua Bates; and U. S-born London resident merchant-banker, Russell Sturgis (1805-87). **Ref. 70.**

George Peabody's dinner enabled the Ingersolls to meet U. S. residents in London and prominent Britishers. One George Peabody critic, five years later, wrote in his private journal that George Peabody's dinners had an ulterior motive. U. S. Legation Secretary in London Benjamin Moran (1820-86) recorded (August 31, 1857, his underlining):

> "He [George Peabody] generally bags the new American Minister for his own purposes

and shows him up around the town, if he can, as his puppet to a set of fourth rate English aristocrats and American tuft-hunters who eat his dinners and laugh at him for his pains." **Ref. 71.**

Moran's sarcastic views, however, were discredited by the editors of his published journal and by historian Henry [Brooks] Adams (1838-1918), private secretary to his father, Charles Francis Adams (1807-86), U. S. Minister to Britain during 1861-68. Henry Adams wrote of U. S. Legation Secretary in London Benjamin Moran:

"Benjamin Moran...had an exaggerated notion of his importance; he was sensitive to flattery, and easily offended.... [His] diary...must be read from the point of view of his character..." **Ref. 72.**

George Peabody's gifts of apples and tea, use of his opera box, and U. S.-British friendship dinners earned Minister Ingersoll's thanks in a letter on June 16, 1852: "I do but echo the general sentiment, in expressing to you the feelings of regard and esteem which you have inspired." **Ref. 73.**

Joseph Reed Ingersoll was commissioned U. S. Minister to Britain on August 21, 1852, arrived in London September 30, 1852, presented his credentials on October 16, 1852, and was relieved August 23, 1853. **Ref. 74.**

J. R. Ingersoll: May 18, 1853, Dinner-1

George Peabody's May 18, 1853, dinner provided more contact with London society for U. S. Minister J. R. Ingersoll and his niece, Miss Wilcocks. The dinner was held at the Star and Garter, Richmond, about eight miles from London, overlooking the Thames. The 150 guests (65 English, 85 Americans) included Harvard University professor (and president in 1860) Cornelius Conway Felton (1807-62). C. C. Felton later wrote in his book, *Familiar Letters from Europe*, of being a guest "at a splendid and costly entertainment" in 1853 by George Peabody. Present were former U. S. President Martin Van Buren (1782-1862, eighth U. S. President during 1837-41) and "many very distinguished persons." A band and vocalists began and ended the dinner with the British and U. S. national anthems. **Ref. 75.**

After the sumptuous meal George Peabody expressed his pleasure at bringing together U. S. and British friends. Minister Ingersoll then read the toasts:

"The Queen: the President of the United States: and the people of the United States and the United Kingdom: the two great nations, whose common origin, mutual interests and growing friendships, serve to cement a union created by resemblance in language, liberty, religion and law." **Ref. 76.**

Ingersoll's speech that followed his toasts contained complimentary references to former U. S. President Martin Van Buren and to George Peabody. These references evoked cheers. Van Buren rose and paid respects to the occasion and to George Peabody as host. **Ref. 77.**

J. R. Ingersoll: May 18, 1853, Dinner (Bishop McIlvaine's Speech)-2

George Peabody's friend, Episcopal Bishop of Ohio Charles Pettit McIlvaine, then rose to

speak. He said, referring to George Peabody's British-U. S. dinners:

> "When history should come to be written, and due weight should be given to all the influences which tend to perpetuate international concord, if history should consent to notice incidents apparently so trifling as social festivities and the interchange of friendly greetings, it would assign...a very high place to their host as one who had done very much in this way to promote mutual knowledge and goodwill between the people of the two great nations who were there represented." **Ref. 78.**

The dinner and speeches received favorable transatlantic press coverage. What the dinner cost George Peabody is not known, but one bill, only part of the total, was about $940. **Ref. 79.**

J. R. Ingersoll: May 18, 1853, Dinner (J. S. Morgan Partnership)-3

Also present at this George Peabody dinner honoring Minister J. R. Ingersoll were Boston merchant Junius Spencer Morgan and Mrs. Morgan. They and their sixteen-year-old son, John Pierpont Morgan, had come to London expressly to look into J. S. Morgan's possible partnership with George Peabody. The May 18, 1853, dinner allowed George Peabody and J. S. Morgan to take each other's measure in a social setting. Young J. P. Morgan, who was not at the dinner, wrote to his cousin that night. "Father and Mother went to a dinner given by George Peabody at Richmond." **Ref. 80.**

George Peabody and J. S. Morgan were both favorably impressed with each other. The Morgans returned to Boston. J. S. Morgan visited U. S. firms with which George Peabody & Co. did business. Morgan decided to accept. He made another trip to London to examine the company books. The partnership took effect the next year, October 1, 1854, and lasted exactly ten years until George Peabody's retirement on October 1, 1864. **Ref. 81.**

A Whiff of Romance?

Contact with Minister J. R. Ingersoll also brought speculation of a possible romance with Ingersoll's niece, Miss Wilcocks (about whom little is known). Although sometimes ill in the summer of 1853, George Peabody's social entertainment included Miss Wilcocks and another lady, Elise Tiffany, daughter of Baltimore friend Osmond Capron Tiffany (1794-1851). From Paris in June 1853 Elise Tiffany's brother George Tiffany asked George Peabody by letter to help get an apartment for them in London. He added, "I just asked Elise if she had any message for you. She says, 'No, I have nothing to say to him whilst Miss Wilcocks is there.'" **Ref. 82.**

The Tiffanys had been invited to the May 18, 1853, dinner for the Ingersolls but Elise would not go. Her brother George Tiffany explained in a letter to George Peabody:

> "Elise knows the entertainment is to the American Minister and Miss Wilcocks. The thing is impossible. Her trunks will not pack, nor her Bills pay.... As to the Scotch trip of a couple of weeks, Elise counts upon your making that sacrifice as a balm to her wounded feelings, caused by the various reports all through the winter." **Ref. 83.**

George Peabody had gone to the opera with Miss Wilcocks and they appeared together at social

functions. A London reporter for a New York City newspaper wrote about a possible romance:

"Mr. Ingersoll gave his second soiree recently. Miss Wilcocks does the honors with much grace, and is greatly admired here. The world gives out that she and Mr. Peabody are to form an alliance, but time will show..." **Ref. 84.**

George Peabody, then age 58, denied any matrimonial intentions in a letter to Washington, D. C., business friend William Wilson Corcoran. George Peabody wrote: "I have now arrived at an age that throws aside all thoughts of marriage [although] I think her [Miss Wilcocks] a very fine woman." **Ref. 85.**

6-James Buchanan, (1791-1868), U. S. Minister to Britain during 1853-56

James Buchanan was born in Mercersberg, Pennsylvania, was a lawyer, U. S. Congressman (1821-31); U. S. Minister to Russia (1832-33), U. S. Senator (1834-45); U. S. Secretary of State (1845-49); U. S. Minister to Britain when his London U. S. Legation Secretary Daniel E. Sickles walked out in anger at George Peabody's July 4, 1854, dinner; and was 15th U. S. president during 1857-61.

James Buchanan: 1854 Sickles Affair.

Incoming U. S. Minister to Britain James Buchanan appointed as his first U. S. Legation Secretary the controversial New York City-born Daniel Edgar Sickles. In 1853 before he arrived in London, Sickles wrote George Peabody to reserve rooms for himself, wife, and baby, a courtesy George Peabody & Co. did for visiting Americans. Peabody consulted Sickles and others about his planned July 4, 1854, Independence Day banquet. Sickles suggested that it be a subscription dinner and that he, Sickles, arrange it. Peabody insisted on paying for the dinner as usual but he let Sickles help select guests, send invitations, and help plan the entertainment.

Peabody always first toasted Queen Victoria as British head of state and secondly the U. S. President. Sickles, an ultra-patriot, was enraged that the Queen should be toasted before the U. S. President. Considering this a national insult, Sickles sat while the other 149 guests stood for the two toasts. Stiff and red-gorged, wrote his biographer, Sickles stormed out of the banquet hall. Minister Buchanan, who had employed Sickles as legation secretary but thought him slack in his work, remained; he was the guest speaker at the banquet. **Ref. 86.**

Sickles fanned U. S.-British press reports of the incident by attacking George Peabody's lack of patriotism in the *Boston Post* of July 21, 1854. He chided Peabody for "toadying" to the English. One reader swayed by this charge wrote George Peabody: "If you had a grain of national feeling you wouldn't have done it.... You are no longer fit to be called an American citizen." Such reaction led Peabody and others at the dinner to send the true facts to the *Boston Post*. Pro and con letters were published in the press for months, with most readers criticizing Sickles and exonerating Peabody. The acrimonious letters in the press made the Sickles Affair a *cause célèbre*. **Ref. 87.**

A friend from New York City, Fitzroy, wrote George Peabody:

"We are astounded that you lower yourself by a correspondence with the most

contemptible of all Americans, Sickles, who was indicted by a New York Grand Jury for fraud, which indictment stands to this day." **Ref. 88.**

Another New York City informant wrote Peabody that proof of Sickles' guilt in committing fraud was contained in letters stolen from the New York City post office by Sickles' direction. **Ref. 89.**

Statements from several July 4, 1854, dinner participants defending George Peabody's actions were published. Horatio Gates Somerby (1805-72), Newburyport, Massachusetts-born genealogist, London resident, and Peabody's friend and sometime agent, helped arrange the dinner. Somerby published an explanation of his part in the dinner:

> "At Mr. Peabody's request I drew up a series of toasts and submitted them to Mr. Buchanan.....[These] were returned to me as approved.... Mr. Sickles did indeed object to Englishmen being present. The Minister [James Buchanan] approved and Mr. Peabody's course was independent of Mr. Sickles' opinion." **Ref. 90.**

A letter from 26 Americans present at the dinner, including Henry Barnard (1811-1900), Connecticut Superintendent of Common Schools (later first U. S. Commissioner of Education), read:

> "The undersigned have read Mr. Peabody's letter to the *Boston Post* of Aug. 16, 1854, and without hesitation affirm as true the events described by Mr. Peabody." **Ref. 91.**

Former Minister to Britain Abbott Lawrence's November 1854 friendly letter from Boston to George Peabody about the unfortunate Sickles Affair has been recorded above ("The attack made upon you I deem unworthy of any man who professes to be a gentleman...."). **Ref. 92.**

Longtime business friend William Wilson Corcoran of Washington, D. C., with whom Peabody had helped sell U. S. bonds abroad that financed the second Mexican War loan, wrote Peabody that U. S. Minister to Britain James "Buchanan had not the slightest respect" for Sickles but for political reasons could not reprove him. **Ref. 93.**

Minister Buchanan, having replaced Sickles with a less controversial new legation secretary, wrote to Sickles: "Your refusal to rise when the Queen's health was proposed is still mentioned in society, but I have always explained and defended you." Two years later, while George Peabody was in Washington, D. C., during his 1856-57 U. S. visit, and when James Buchanan was the 15th U. S. president, there was a coldness between the two men, who did not meet again. During that visit, however, President Buchanan's friends and his niece Harriet Lane (1830-1903) were especially cordial to George Peabody. **Ref. 94.**

Always controversial, Sickles four years later, on February 27, 1859, while serving in the U. S. Senate (1857-61), shot to death Philip Barton Key (son of Francis Scott Key) for Key's alleged attentions to Sickles' wife. Sickles was acquitted of the murder charge as of unsound mind (the first use of that legal defense in the U. S.). **Ref. 95.**

Sickles was a Union general in the Civil War and lost a leg at Gettysburg. As Reconstruction commander of the Carolinas during 1865-67, his punitive actions against former Confederates were

said to have been so severe that President Andrew Johnson (1808-75) transferred him to another command. Sickles was U. S. Minister to Spain (1869-73), served again in the U. S. Congress, helped establish Gettysburg as a national park, and helped secure the land for New York City's Central Park. **Ref. 96.**

7-George Mifflin Dallas (1792-1864), U. S. Minister to Britain during 1856-61

George Mifflin Dallas was born in Philadelphia, graduated from Princeton College (1810), was a lawyer (1813), U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania (1831-33), Pennsylvania Attorney General (1833-35), U. S. Minister to Russia (1837-39), U. S. Vice President (1844-48) under President James K. Polk (1795-1849, 11th U. S. president during 1845-49), and U. S. Minister to Britain during 1856-61.

G. M. Dallas: June 13, 1856, Dinner

George Peabody introduced incoming Minister G. M. Dallas at a U. S.-British friendship dinner and entertainment on June 13, 1856. The 130 guests included the Lord Mayor of London and the Mayoress; Curtis Miranda Lampson (1806-85) and Mrs. Lampson (C. M. Lampson was a Vermont-born naturalized British subject and George Peabody's longtime business friend); Junius Spencer Morgan, the Boston merchant who became George Peabody's partner in George Peabody & Co. on Oct. 1, 1854 (and whose young son John Pierpont Morgan began as New York City agent for George Peabody & Co.); Mrs. J. S. Morgan; Sir Joseph Paxton (1801-65), British architect who designed the Crystal Palace to house the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London, the first world's fair; John Pendleton Kennedy (1795-1870), Baltimore novelist and U. S. statesman who, at George Peabody's request, designed the Peabody Institute of Baltimore to which George Peabody gave a total of $1.4 million; and others. J. P. Kennedy wrote in his journal about the June 13, 1856, dinner: "A great banquet given by Mr. P., with tickets to the Concert there at 3...we got to dinner about 7. We number nearly 130." **Ref. 97.**

The June 13, 1856, dinner which introduced Minister Dallas was held soon after the Crimean War (1855-56, Russia vs. England, France, others). There was in the U. S. some anti-British feeling about this European conflict. British Minister to the U. S. John Crampton (1805-86) had indiscreetly tried to recruit U. S. volunteers for the British army. U. S. Secretary of State William Learned Marcy (1786-1857) objected and had Crampton recalled. **Ref. 98.**

Former British Minister to the U. S. Henry Bulwer-Lytton (1801-72) was to have proposed the health of U. S. Minister Dallas at George Peabody's June 13, 1856, dinner. But Bulwer-Lytton, being Crampton's colleague, explained to George Peabody that to appear at this dinner and propose the health of U. S. Minister Dallas would be unfair to his dismissed colleague John Crampton and would evoke British public resentment. It was a tribute to George Peabody that he could still successfully sponsor this U. S.-British friendship dinner at that tense time of misunderstanding and mistrust. **Ref. 99.**

G. M. Dallas: July 4, 1856, Dinner-1

U. S. Minister G. M. Dallas gave a short speech at George Peabody's July 4, 1856,

Independence Day dinner. More than 100 Americans and a few Englishmen attended at the Star and Garter Hotel, Richmond, eight miles from London on the Thames. George Peabody prefaced his toast with these remarks:

> "I have before me two loving cups, one British the second of American oak, presented to me some years ago by Francis Peabody [a distant cousin from Salem, Massachusetts] now present. Let me say a few words before passing these cups. The first dinner I gave in connection with American Independence Day was a dinner in 1850 at which the American Minister, American and English friends were present. In 1851, the Great Exhibition year, I substituted a ball and banquet. Some of my friends were apprehensive that the affair would not be accepted that year of Anglo-American rivalry but the acceptance of the Duke of Wellington made the affair successful. For twenty years I have been in this kingdom of England and in my humble way mean to spread peace and good-will. I know no party North or South but my whole country. With these loving cups let us know only friendship between East and West." **Ref. 100.**

George Peabody proposed "The Day We Celebrate," followed by "Her Majesty, the Queen," and "the President of the United States." Member of Parliament from Liverpool William Brown (1784-1864) rose to say:

> "The day we celebrate will ever be remembered in the history of the world. For we English derive as much satisfaction from it as you do. None of us are answerable for the sins of statesmanship or the errors of our forefathers. George Washington, remembered with respect by England and the world, would rejoice to see the enterprising spirit of the country he brought into existence, a country which seeks to bridge the Atlantic and Pacific via canal and now explores the Arctic seas (cheers).
>
> "I deny that England is jealous of the United States. We rejoice in your prosperity and know that when you prosper we share in it. It is not true that the fortunes of one country arise from the misfortune of another. While we have differences they can be amicably adjusted (cheers). I toast the American Minister, Mr. George M. Dallas (cheers)." **Ref. 101.**

G. M. Dallas: July 4, 1856, Dinner-2

Minister G. M. Dallas replied:

> "I rejoice to find so many patriots present to celebrate American Independence Day. We are, as a country, but eighty years old, yet how proud we are of her (cheers). Small and feeble at birth, she now contains twenty-seven million people. Once on the margin of the Atlantic she is now an immense continent. It is a matter of sincere regret that the free nations are not always the sincerest friends (hear, hear)." **Ref. 102.**

A complimentary toast was proposed to George Peabody as host. His few remarks in response concluded by saying that the land of his birth was always uppermost in his mind. When he sat down the band played "Home, Sweet Home."

Present at this dinner was Irish-born sculptor John Edward Jones (1806-62), who made a bust of George Peabody in 1856. Also present was U. S. inventor Samuel F. B. Morse (1791-1872). A toast to "The Telegraph" was suddenly proposed. Not anticipating the toast and not having a reply at hand, Morse rose and modestly quoted from *Psalm* 19: "Their line is gone out through all the earth and their words to the end of the world." **Ref. 103.**

8-Charles Francis Adams (1807-86), U. S. Minister to Britain during 1861-68

Charles Francis Adams was born in Boston, grandson of the second U. S. President John Adams (1735-1826) and son of the sixth U. S. President John Quincy Adams (1767-1848). Charles Francis Adams was a Harvard College graduate, a law student under Daniel Webster (1782-1852), and U. S. Minister to Britain (1861-68). He and George Peabody had friendly contact during strained U. S.-British relations over the Civil War, with British aristocrats favoring the South for socio-cultural and economic reasons (Lancashire mills needed southern cotton, purchases of which were cut off by U. S. naval blockade of Confederate ports, resulting in loss of jobs of British cotton mill workers). As U. S. Minister to Britain during 1861-68, Charles Francis Adams helped prevent British recognition of the Confederacy. He also helped ease British-U. S. tensions over two major Civil War incidents, the *Trent* Affair and the *Alabama* Claims. **Ref. 104.**

Charles Francis Adams: *Trent* Affair-1

The *Trent* Affair began on the stormy night of October 11, 1861, when four Confederate emissaries slipped through the Union blockade at Charleston, S. C., went by ship to Havana, Cuba, and there boarded the British mail ship *Trent* en route to England. The Confederates sought aid and arms in England and France. On November 8, 1861, the *Trent* was illegally stopped in the Bahama Channel, West Indies, by Captain Charles Wilkes (1798-1877) of the U.S.S. *San Jacinto*. Confederates John Murray Mason from Virginia, John Slidell from Louisiana, and their male secretaries were forcibly removed, taken to Boston harbor, and jailed. Anticipating war with the U. S., Britain sent 8,000 troops to Canada. But U. S. jingoism subsided after President Lincoln allegedly told his cabinet, "one war at a time," got the cabinet on December 26, 1861, to release the Confederate prisoners on January 1, 1862, and acknowledged that the seizure of the British *Trent* was unauthorized and illegal. **Ref. 105.**

Charles Francis Adams: *Trent* Affair-2

George Peabody's minor connection with the *Trent* Affair was with Confederate emissary John Slidell's secretary, George Eustice (1828-72), husband of Louise Morris Corcoran (1838-67), only child of George Peabody's longtime Washington, D. C., business associate William Wilson Corcoran. She was a favorite of George Peabody, who had entertained Corcoran and his daughter, sometimes the daughter alone, on European trips.

When Captain Richard Williams, *Trent* officer in charge of the mail, was asked at a dinner to give his version of what happened, it was published in the Liverpool *Daily Post*, January 8, 1862. His reported account was that when U. S. Lieutenant Donald McNeill Fairfax (1821-94) demanded to take

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Mason and Slidell into custody, they appeared before him with Slidell's daughter clinging to her father. When Lieutenant Fairfax tried to separate father and daughter, she slapped his face. The *Daily Post* article added that there was a contradiction to Captain Williams' version from a member of Parliament who "had the contradiction from George Peabody, the well known banker and merchant." **Ref. 106.**

The article added information from a Mr. Allen S. Kanckel (his last name, misspelled, was Hanckel), who claimed to have witnessed the *Trent* incident. He informed the editor that Slidell's daughter did not slap Lieutenant Fairfax but "put her hand twice on his face to keep him back." The article ended with: "Mr. Kanckel adds, that Mr. Peabody, uninvited, called on Mrs. Slidell, and behaved ungentlemanly." The editor sent George Peabody the news article along with Allen S. Hanckel's calling card. Hanckel wrote to George Peabody that the *Daily Post* editor had made a mistake, that it had been George Peabody's partner, Junius Spencer Morgan, who had burst uninvited into Mrs. Slidell's room. Hanckel added with an implied threat, "I shall certainly call upon you and hope to receive an explanation." Mr. Hanckel's threatened visit to George Peabody never materialized. **Ref. 107.**

The *Trent* Affair stirred passions and worried George Peabody, partly because it threatened his long-term U. S.-British friendship concern; partly because the *Trent* Affair threatened public announcement of his model housing gift for London's working poor ($2.5 million total gift). Press announcement of the gift, delayed until March 12, 1862, was warmly received by the public and the press despite the *Trent* Affair. **Ref. 108.**

Charles Francis Adams: *Alabama* Claims

Without a navy and with its southern ports blockaded by the North, Confederate agents evaded the blockade, went to England, secretly bought British-built ships, armed them as Confederate raiders, renamed them *Alabama*, *Florida*, *Shenandoah*, and others, which sank northern ships, wrecked northern ports, and cost Union lives and treasure. U. S. demand for reparations caused by these British-built raiders was not resolved until the international tribunal in Geneva in September 1872 required Britain to pay the U. S. $15.5 million indemnity. In 1868, a year before his death, George Peabody had been suggested but not chosen as a U. S. arbiter in the *Alabama* Claims controversy. In the final settlement, Charles Francis Adams represented the U. S., British jurist Alexander James Edmund Cockburn (1802-80) represented Britain, and three members were from neutral countries. **Ref. 109.**

Behind George Peabody's Unprecedented Funeral Honors

As mentioned in the Introduction, George Peabody died in London, November 4, 1869, while the *Trent* Affair and the *Alabama* Claims still rankled. When it became known that his will requested burial in Harmony Grove Cemetery, Salem, Massachusetts, that his remains would have to be transported across the Atlantic anyway, first British officials and then U. S. officials outdid themselves and each other in unprecedented funeral honors. These honors were initiated by Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone (1809-98) and others, with Queen Victoria's approval, to ease U. S.-British

tension over Civil War irritations. They were done partly in appreciation for George Peabody's $2.5 million model apartments for London's working poor and for his long efforts to improve U. S.-British relations. U. S. officials, not to be outdone, reciprocated in kind.

Overview of George Peabody's 96-Day Transatlantic Funeral

While it lay ahead, an overview of Peabody's 96-day transatlantic funeral may help the reader: **1**-A funeral service and temporary burial for 30 days in Westminster Abbey (November 12 to December 11, 1869). **2**-British cabinet decision (November 10, 1869) to return his remains on H.M.S. *Monarch*, Britain's newest and largest warship, for transatlantic crossing and burial in Harmony Grove Cemetery, Salem, Massachusetts. **3**-U. S. government decision to send the U.S.S. *Plymouth* from Marseilles, France, to accompany H.M.S. *Monarch* to the U. S. **4**-Impressive ceremony transferring George Peabody's remains from Westminster Abbey to London railway station, special funeral train to Portsmouth dock, where it was ceremoniously placed aboard H.M.S. *Monarch* (December 11, 1869), repainted slate grey and outfitted with a mortuary chapel as a funeral vessel. **5**-Transatlantic voyage from December 21, 1869, to January 25, 1870. **6**-The U. S. Navy's decision (January 14, 1870) to place Admiral David Glasgow Farragut in command of a U. S. naval flotilla to meet H.M.S. *Monarch* accompanied by U.S.S. *Plymouth* in Portland harbor, Maine (January 25-29, 1870). **7**-Lying in state in Portland City Hall (January 29-February 1, 1870). **8**-A special funeral train from Portland, Maine, to Peabody, Massachusetts (February 1, 1870). **9**-Lying in state at the Peabody Institute Library, Peabody, Massachusetts (February 1-8, 1870). **10**-Robert Charles Winthrop's funeral eulogy at the Congregational Church, Peabody, Massachusetts, attended by several governors, mayors, Queen Victoria's son Prince Arthur, and other notables (February 8, 1870). **11**-Final burial ceremony at Harmony Grove Cemetery, Salem, Massachusetts (February 8, 1870). **Ref. 110.**

9-Reverdy Johnson (1796-1876), U. S. Minister to Britain during 1868-69

A long-time friend of George Peabody in Baltimore, Reverdy Johnson was born in Annapolis, Maryland, attended St. John's College in that city, was a Baltimore lawyer from 1817 when he first knew and sometimes represented George Peabody legally, became Maryland State Senator (1821-29), U. S. Senator (1845-49), U. S. Attorney General (1849-?), was again U. S. Senator (1863-68), and succeeded Charles Francis Adams as arbiter in the *Alabama* Claims controversy, 1871-72.

Reverdy Johnson also helped George Peabody from 1854 plan the Peabody Institute of Baltimore. In 1867 in the U. S. Senate he also defended George Peabody's Union loyalty in the Civil War.

Reverdy Johnson and the Peabody Institute of Baltimore

In 1854 Reverdy Johnson was in London with James Watson Webb (1802-84, editor, New York City *Courier and Enquirer* during 1827-61). George Peabody called on Johnson and Webb to ask their advice about an educational institution he planned to establish in Baltimore. Returning to Baltimore, Reverdy Johnson told John Pendleton Kennedy of George Peabody's wish for the three

Baltimore leaders (Reverdy Johnson, John Pendleton Kennedy, and William Edward Mayhew) to help him plan what came to be the Peabody Institute of Baltimore. The Peabody Institute of Baltimore was largely Kennedy's plan, based partly on the British Museum in London and made possible by George Peabody's total gift of $1.4 million (1857-69). Kennedy helped draft George Peabody's February 12, 1857, founding letter. The Peabody Institute of Baltimore building, delayed by the Civil War, was dedicated on October 23-24, 1866, and was opened on October 26, 1866, with George Peabody present. **Ref. 111.**

Reverdy Johnson's 1867 Defense of George Peabody as a Unionist in the U. S. Senate

On March 5, 1867, U. S. Senator Charles Sumner (1811-74), Republican from Massachusetts, introduced resolutions of congressional thanks and a gold medal to be awarded to George Peabody for establishing the Peabody Education Fund ($2 million total gift, 1867-69). George Peabody had established the Peabody Education Fund to promote public education in the eleven former Confederate states plus West Virginia, added because of its poverty. **Ref. 112.**

When the resolutions were introduced, Republican Senator Thomas Warren Tipton (1817-99) from Nebraska and Republican Senator James Wilson Grimes (1816-72) of Iowa asked why the resolutions could not first go to an investigating committee to determine the worthiness of the gift (Senators Tipton and Grimes and others doubted George Peabody's Union loyalty in the Civil War and thought him pro-Confederate).

Senator Reverdy Johnson of Maryland rose, told how he had been George Peabody's lawyer in Baltimore in 1817, had several later contacts with him in London, and defended George Peabody as a staunch Unionist. The Senate voted 36 yeas for the resolutions, 2 nays (Senators Grimes and Tipton voting nay), with fifteen Senators absent.

The resolutions were debated in the U. S. House of Representatives on March 9, 1867. Representative Abner Clark Harding (1807-74), Republican from Illinois, moved:

> "To amend the resolution to strike out the gold medal.... I am informed Mr. Peabody made profit from the rebellion which he aided and abetted."

Harding's amendment failed. The U. S. House passed the resolutions March 14, 1867. The resolutions were then announced and enrolled in the U. S. Senate March 15 and went for signature to President Andrew Johnson (1808-75) on March 16, 1867. **Ref. 113.**

U. S. Congressional Praise and a Gold Medal for George Peabody

The gold medal was finished by New York City silversmiths and jewelers Starr and Marcus in May 1868. It was sent to the Department of State, was seen by President Johnson's cabinet on May 26,1868, and was exhibited in the U. S. Capitol Building. On September 18, 1868, George Peabody in London wrote to U. S. Secretary of State William Henry Seward (1801-72) to say that the resolutions and gold medal would be kept permanently in a specially built safe in the Peabody Institute Library, Peabody, Massachusetts. George Peabody added:

"Knowing the uncertainty of life, particularly at my advanced age, and feeling a great desire of

seeing this most valued token my countrymen have been pleased to bestow upon me, I beg...that the medal, with its accompanying documents, may be sent to me here, through our Legation."

George Peabody in London saw the gold medal for the first time on Christmas Day, 1868. He opened the package before gathered friends who admired the delicate workmanship. **Ref. 114.**

Last Contact with Reverdy Johnson, 1868

In November 1868 George Peabody was in Brighton, England. With him were Reverdy Johnson and Sir James Emerson Tennent (1791-1869), Irish-born member of Parliament and Peabody's longtime friend. U. S. President Andrew Johnson (1808-75) had recently appointed Reverdy Johnson U. S. Minister to Great Britain (1868-69) in part to negotiate the Johnson-Clarendon Treaty to settle the *Alabama* Claims.

Some Brighton citizens, wanting to honor Reverdy Johnson, George Peabody, and Sir James Emerson Tennent, consulted Brighton's mayor and town authorities. At a town hall meeting, November 12, 1868, a public dinner was planned for November 21, 1868. George Peabody was too ill to attend but Sir James Tennent and Reverdy Johnson attended.

Reverdy Johnson spoke of his efforts to reconcile the *Alabama* Claims. He also complimented George Peabody's past efforts to promote British-U. S. friendship. On November 22, 1868, George Peabody and Reverdy Johnson attended Christ Church in Brighton. The sermon by the Reverend Robert Ainslie was largely about the two distinguished visitors. Reverdy Johnson was praised for promoting peace. George Peabody was favorably compared to British reformer John Howard (1726-90). **Ref. 115.**

10-John Lothrop Motley (1814-77), U. S. Minister during 1869-70

John Lothrop Motley, statesman and historian of note, was U. S. Minister to Britain during 1869-70, at the time of George Peabody's last illness, death, and funeral. Because of his official position Minister Motley was necessarily involved in George Peabody's funeral ceremonies in England, particularly at Westminster Abbey, the transfer by rail from Westminster Abbey, London, to Portsmouth, England, and in the transfer of George Peabody's remains aboard the H.M.S. *Monarch* in Portsmouth harbor for transatlantic crossing and burial in the U. S.

J. L. Motley was born near Dorchester, Massachusetts; was a Harvard College graduate (1831); attended the universities of Berlin and Göttingen, Germany; wrote two novels and articles for the *North American Review*; and is best known for his historical works, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (3 volumes., 1856) and *History of the United Netherlands* (4 volumes, 1860-67). He was a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives (1849), was U. S. Legation Secretary at St. Petersburg, Russia (1841-42), U. S. Minister to Austria (1861-67), and U. S. Minister to Britain (1869-70).

Unveiling George Peabody's Statue, London, July 23, 1869

Minister Motley and the Prince of Wales were the main speakers at the July 23, 1869, unveiling of George Peabody's seated statue on Threadneedle Street near London's Royal Exchange. The statue by U. S. sculptor William Wetmore Story (1819-95) was one of several honors given to George

Peabody for his 1862 gift of Peabody homes for London's working poor ($2.5 million total), where some 27,000 Londoners still live in nearly 14,000 Peabody homes on 83 estates.

The statue of George Peabody was first proposed in London's Court of Common Council, March 27, 1866. A public subscription committee was formed to raise funds. The St. Benet Fink churchyard site near the Royal Exchange was chosen in August 1867. Necessary permissions were obtained. Sculptor William Wetmore Story was chosen. A temporary pedestal was finished on June 22, 1869. The Prince of Wales agreed (July 9, 1869) to unveil the statue.

George Peabody's statue was the first of four statues of Americans in London: George Peabody, 1869; Abraham Lincoln, 1920; George Washington, 1921; and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 1948. **Ref. 116.**

George Peabody's Last U. S. Visit When His Statue was Unveiled in London

George Peabody was on his last U. S. visit (June 8 to September 29, 1869) when his statue was unveiled in London on July 23, 1869. He died four months later.

On the day of the unveiling Peabody was at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, where by chance he met, spoke to, dined with, and was honored by northern and southern political, education, and former Civil War leaders, including General Robert E. Lee (1807-70), about whom more follows.

Minister Motley's Speech at the Unveiling of Peabody's Statue, London, July 23, 1869

Few of the thousands gathered in narrow streets near Threadneedle Street were able to get within sight of the unveiling ceremonies. George Peabody had often stood there to catch a horse drawn omnibus to his lodgings. His Inner City (London) offices at different times were nearby at 6 Warnford Court, Throgmorton Street, and at 22 Old Broad Street.

The Prince of Wales eulogized George Peabody, praised U. S. sculptor W. W. Story, and referred warmly to U. S. Minister Motley. Minister Motley said:

> "Of all men...he [George Peabody] least needs a monument. I am proud it was made by an American sculptor. In Rome [at Story's studio] I saw Mr. Peabody and his statue seated side by side.... Now tens of thousands, generation after generation, will look upon his likeness." **Ref. 117.**

W. W. Story was asked to speak. He pointed to the statue and said, "There is my speech." A statue committee member, who sent George Peabody a photograph of the statue, ended his cover letter with: "Our work is now completed. This statue, like your philanthropy, is devoted to the good of men and the glory of God." **Ref. 118.**

George Peabody's August 31, 1869, reply from Baltimore was signed in a shaky, barely legible handwriting. **Ref. 119.**

Return to London and Death

A sick George Peabody left New York City, on the *Scotia*, September 29, 1869. He landed in Queenstown, now Cobh, Ireland; and hurried to London to rest at the 80 Eaton Square, London, home of longtime business friend Sir Curtis Miranda Lampson. The Lampson family, physician Sir William

Withey Gull, M.D. (1816-99), medical attendant William H. Covey, Minister Motley, and a few friends attended George Peabody until his death, 11:30 P.M., November 4, 1869. **Ref. 120.**

Minister Motley to U. S. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish on George Peabody's Death

Two days later, November 6, 1869, in an official dispatch, Minister Motley described George Peabody's last days to U. S. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish (1809-93). Hamilton Fish was also one of the original 16 Peabody Education Fund trustees. Motley wrote:

"It is with deep regret that I inform you of the death of that good benefactor to humanity, George Peabody.

"The event took place on the night before last, the 4th inst. at half past 11 o'clock. Mr. Peabody, as you are aware, left the United States in broken health.

"For a few days after reaching London he was able to be taken down stairs daily to the family circle of Sir Curtis Lampson, No. 80 Eaton Square, at whose house he was residing and where he was tenderly cared for during his last illness but his strength soon failed him. He lingered some few days in a condition which enabled him occasionally while lying in his bed to receive visits from a friend or two. It was my privilege to see him thus two or three times. On the last occasion, which was about a fortnight before his death, he seemed in good spirits and was evidently encouraged about his health. He conversed fluently and in a most interesting manner about the great work of his life--his vast scheme for benefiting those needing aid in England and America--and narrated the way in which the project first grew up in his mind and generally developed itself into the wide proportions which it had at last assumed.

"I remarked to him that it must make him happy, lying there on his sickbed, to think of the immense benefits which he had conferred on the poor of two great countries, not only in his generation, but so far as we could judge as long as the two nations should exist.

"He observed with a placid smile that it made him very happy to think of it. He was sure that the institutions founded by him would do much good.

"Very soon after this interview Mr. Peabody became too weak to receive visits except from the family of Sir Curtis Lampson, the physicians and a clergyman. Bulletins of his condition were published regularly in the journals and inquiries as to his health were made regularly by the Sovereign of the country [Queen Victoria] and by persons of all classes.

"During the last few days of his life, he was almost entirely unconscious and he passed away at last without pain and without a struggle." **Ref. 121.**

Minister Motley to Count von Bismarck on George Peabody's Death

U. S. Minister Motley also described George Peabody's death in a November 7, 1869, letter to Count von Bismarck (1815-98):

"Our great philanthropist George Peabody is just dead. I knew him well and saw him several times during his last illness. It made him happy, he said, as he lay on his bed, to think that he had done some good to his fellow-creatures.

"I suppose no man in human history ever gave away so much money. At least two millions of pounds sterling, and in cash, he bestowed on great and well-regulated charities, founding institutions in England and America which will do good so long as either nation exists.

"He has never married, has no children, but he has made a large number of nephews and nieces rich. He leaves behind him (after giving away so much), I dare say, about half a million sterling." **Ref. 122.**

J. L. Motley and Secretary Moran about Westminster Abbey Service and H.M.S. *Monarch*

Knowing that George Peabody's last will requested burial in Harmony Grove Cemetery, Salem, Massachusetts, Sir Curtis Lampson telegraphed George Peabody's nephew George Peabody Russell (1834–?, son of George Peabody's younger sister Judith Dodge née Peabody Russell Daniels), who left for England to accompany George Peabody's remains back to the U. S. Since there would be two weeks' delay, Sir Curtis spoke about a funeral service in England with Minister Motley's Legation Secretary Benjamin Moran (November 6, 1869).

Moran recorded in his private journal:

"Sir Curtis Lampson came and asked me if it were possible to have a funeral service performed here over Mr. Peabody's remains in view of the fact that they are to be conveyed to the United States and I said yes, instancing at the same time the particulars in the case of Horatio Ward and Mr. Brown[e], better known as Artemus Ward [1834-67, U. S. humorist writer-lecturer who used the name Artemus Ward and died in London]....

"These cases seemed to satisfy him and no doubt some funeral service will be performed here, probably in Westminster Abbey." **Ref. 123.**

Westminster Abbey's dean, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1815-81), was in Rome when he read of George Peabody's death. His telegraphed offer of the Abbey for a funeral service was relayed by Sir Curtis Lampson to Legation Secretary Moran. Moran recorded in his journal:

"Sir Curtis Lampson has been to see me. The Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey has asked that Mr. Peabody be buried in the Abbey. This can hardly be assented to. But a funeral service will no doubt take place there, and has been fixed for Friday, inst., at 1 o'clock." **Ref. 124.**

In a major speech at the Lord Mayor's Day evening banquet, November 9, 1869, Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone referred to British-U. S. difficulties and then mentioned George Peabody's death:

"You will know that I refer to the death of Mr. Peabody, a man whose splendid benefactions...taught us in this commercial age...the most noble and needful of all lessons--...how a man can be the master of his wealth instead of its slave [cheers]. And, my Lord Mayor, most touching it is to know, as I have learnt, that while, perhaps, some might think he had been unhappy in dying in a foreign land, yet so were his affections divided between the

land of his birth and the home of his early ancestors, that...his [wish] has been realized--that he might be buried in America, [and] that it might please God to ordain that he should die in England [cheers]. My Lord Mayor, with the country of Mr. Peabody we are not likely to quarrel [loud cheers, italics added]." **Ref. 125.**

The next day at Prime Minister Gladstone's cabinet meeting, November 10, 1869, a Royal Navy vessel, the H.M.S. *Monarch*, Britain's newest, largest warship, was named as escort vessel to return George Peabody's remains for burial in the U. S. **Ref. 126.**

Legation Secretary Moran, critical of George Peabody in his private journal because he thought him sympathetic to the South, recorded (November 9, 1869):

"Sir Curtis Lampson called early to-day about the funeral ceremonies over Mr. Peabody in Westminster Abbey.... Tickets for spectators will be issued, and the Legation is to have a large supply.

"At his own request Mr. Gladstone is to be present in the Abbey in his capacity of Prime Minister but he will not follow as a mourner. He spoke to Sir Curtis Lampson about sending the remains home in a ship of war and asked [if] Mr. Motley would approve, saying that he might bring the subject officially to his notice. The suggestion is no doubt from the Queen; but Mr. Motley can give no opinion one way or another as to the proposal, and has decided after consulting with me to refer the question if made to the Govt. at Washington for their instructions. It is without precedent, and as Mr. Peabody was a copperhead and never gave a cent to the institutions founded for the widows and orphans of the war [i.e., U. S. Sanitary Commission] and moreover is a private citizen--it is placing the Minister in embarrassing circumstances to ask him if he will accept the tender of one of Her Majesty's ships to convey the body to the United States. To accept such an offer would be to commit his Government and that he cannot do. It seems to be that Her Majesty's Government should determine the case for themselves and not bother us about it at all." **Ref. 127**

Secretary Moran On the Peabody Funeral Service, Westminster Abbey-1

Legation Secretary Moran's journal entry described the carriage procession from 80 Eaton Square to the Westminster Abbey funeral service (November 12, 1869):

"At about 12 to-day Mr. Motley and I arrived in his carriage at Sir Curtis Lampson's, 80 Eaton Square, where we met Sir Curtis and his three sons, J.S. Morgan [George Peabody's partner Junius Spencer Morgan], Russell Sturgis [George Peabody's fellow U .S. merchant resident in London], Mr. F. H. Morse [U. S. Consul, London], Mr. Nunn [Josiah Nunn, U. S. Vice Consul, London], Drs. Gull and Covey [medical men who attended George Peabody], Horatio G. Somerby [U. S.-born genealogist in London; George Peabody's friend and agent], and several other gentlemen, who were to act as mourners at the funeral of Mr. George Peabody in Westminster Abbey. Mr. Charles Reed [1819-81, member of Parliament] did not reach the house on time, but we took him up in the street. Mr. Motley, Sir Curtis, Mr. Reed

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and I were in the first carriage. Two royal carriages followed those of the mourners and the Minister's carriages were immediately behind that of the executors. The cortege of private carriages was very long,...the streets all the way being crowded with spectators, the mass evidently being workingmen of the better class." **Ref. 128.**

Secretary Moran On the Peabody Funeral Service, Westminster Abbey-2

Moran had been critical of George Peabody in his private journal entries since 1857. However, in his account of the Peabody funeral service at Westminster Abbey, Moran's better nature prevailed. His description, heartfelt and almost eloquent, read:

"The day proved fine. Mr. Motley and I followed closely to the coffin and entered the grand old Abbey.... The scene was sacred. Beholding it as I did--being one of the actors--it was impressive.... I thought of Peabody as I stood by his coffin and heard the priests chanting over his remains, and...mentally remarked that I could now forget that I had ever warred with the dust before me. And then I reflected on the marvelous career of the man, his early life, his penurious habits, his vast fortune, his magnificent charity; and the honor that was then being paid to his memory by the Queen of England in the place of sepulcher of twenty English Kings....

"The Prime Minister of England and the United States Minister stood near the head participating in the ceremony, while Mrs. Motley, Lady Lampson, Mrs. Morgan, and other American ladies were grouped at the foot. 'Ashes to ashes,' said the priest, an anthem was sung, and the service was at an end--George Peabody having received burial in Westminster Abbey, an honor coveted by nobles and not always granted kings.

"A wreath of *immortelles* was thrown into the lap of Peabody's statue the other day, and loud cries were made to call the new street in the city from the Bank to Blackfriars Bridge after him...." **Ref. 129**

J. L. Motley: President Grant Yielded to the Queen on *Monarch* as Funeral Ship

Before the decision to use H.M.S. *Monarch* as funeral vessel, U. S. Minister Motley received two messages at the same time. British Foreign Office Secretary Lord Clarendon (November 13, 1869) stated that Queen Victoria wished to show her respect by transporting George Peabody's remains to the U. S. on a British ship of war. U. S. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish (November 12, 1869) asked Minister Motley to inform the British government that U. S. Rear Admiral William Radford (1808-90), commanding the U. S. Naval European squadron in Marseilles, France, was sending a U. S. vessel as funeral ship.

Legation Secretary Moran recorded Minister Motley's dilemma:

"These communications threw Mr. Motley into one of his fits of indecision and when I arrived he hardly knew what to do. I advised that he should telegraph the substance of Lord Clarendon's note to Mr. Fish and ask for instructions. This he did and late tonight he received a telegram from Washington saying the President yielded to the Queen's Govt.....

"And thus the matter for the present rests, more noise having been made over the old fellow dead than living. [Lord Clarendon] said that Her Majesty would have created Peabody a Peer had he been disposed to accept." **Ref. 130.**

J. L. Motley; Portsmouth Dock to H.M.S. *Monarch*

When Minister and Mrs. Motley were invited to dine with the Queen at Windsor Castle, Legation Secretary Moran recorded his annoyance (December 6, 1869):

"But it delays the departure of old Peabody's remains. Will that old man ever be buried? Indeed it seems as if he would not. He gives trouble to all classes of officials, royal, republican, state, diplomatic, naval, consulate, military, ecclesiastic, and civil, and has stirred up commotion all over the world." **Ref. 131.**

Because of high tide, transfer from Portsmouth dock to the H.M.S. *Monarch* was rescheduled by the Admiralty for December 11, 1869. Moran recorded (December 8, 1869):

"There is another hitch about sending away Peabody's remains. He must go on board the *Monarch* on Saturday morning, or not for ten days to come, as the tide will not serve as to get the ship out of the harbor, except at night, and the Admiralty don't want the risk taking her away in the dark." **Ref. 132.**

Moran described the hectic transfer events on December 11, 1869:

"[Minister Motley] has gone by special train to Portsmouth...and if no hitch takes place--about which I am not so sure--we shall get rid of the old fellow on Monday and the people on the other side will then have their time.... Mr. Motley got back about 7:30 from Portsmouth.... As usual, Johnny Bull blundered in the arrangements.... Nobody knew what to do. Captain [John F.] Commerell [1829-1901, of H.M.S. *Monarch*] seemed frightened and nervous. The remains were put on board pretty much as you would embark a bale of goods, only there was no invoice.... When ready to leave for their return every official had disappeared.... The consequence was that Minister, executors, and friends got refreshments at the railway station--the viands consisting of 'cakes and ale.' A tablet to Geo. Peabody is to be placed in Westminster Abbey." **Ref. 133.**

Last Entries on Minister Motley and the Peabody Funeral

Moran's last entries on George Peabody included, "He [Minister Motley] is long winded about Old Peabody's embarkation, and somewhat prosy" (December 15, 1869), and ended with gossip trivia. **Ref. 134.**

Transatlantic Crossing

Congress Votes a U. S. Navy Reception for Peabody's Remains

While the funeral ships waited at Spithead near Portsmouth for the storms to end, in the U. S. Congress on December 15, 1869, Kentucky Representative Thomas Laurens Jones (1819-87) introduced U. S. House Resolution No. 96:

"Whereas, in the death of George Peabody...our country and the world have sustained [great] loss.... And whereas the Queen of Great Britain, the authorities of

London, and the Emperor of France have made extraordinary provision for the transfer of his remains to his native land; therefore, 'It is resolved by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America Congress, That the President of the United States...[shall prepare]...for the reception of [his] body...in a manner commensurate with the...dignity of a great people.'" **Ref. 135.**

A news account explained: "The President was authorized to order as many ships as were convenient to meet at sea the European convoy conducting George Peabody's remains home."

This resolution was to be debated on December 21, 1869.

Transatlantic Crossing, December 21, 1869-January 25, 1870

The weather improved. On December 21, 1869, 1:00 A.M., H.M.S. *Monarch* and U.S.S. *Plymouth* left Spithead. Beyond Ushant, France, gale winds swirled the ships around so that they lost sight of each other. The funeral ships went south separately, met at Madeira island off Portugal (December 30), went west separately to Bermuda, from where they steamed together north to New England. **Ref. 136.**

A *Plymouth* officer later explained why he was glad at separation:

> "Left Spithead 21st, and kept on the starboard quarter of the Monarch as long as we could, but on the 2nd day out, the wind freshening, we separated during the night, at which we were very pleased, for there was always some nonsense about going too fast or too slow, and no end of signals. I am sure the separation was a great relief to both ships. We had beautiful weather after crossing the Bay of Biscay. Christmas Day was as bright and lovely as the month of June...." **Ref. 137.**

Acrimonious Debate on a U. S. Navy Reception for Peabody's Remains-1

As the funeral ships left Spithead on December 21, 1869, in Washington, D. C., U. S. House Resolution No. 96 was debated. Attempts to subvert it failed. In brief: **1**-New York Representative William Henry Kelso (1812-79) wanted the resolution to go to the Appropriations Committee. **2**-House Speaker James Gillespie Blaine (1830-93) reminded Kelso that unanimous consent was given December 15 for House discussion. **3**-Massachusetts Representative Benjamin Franklin Butler (1818-1930) said he understood that Peabody's remains would arrive before U. S. Navy ships could meet the funeral ship. **4**-Jones, who had introduced the resolution, rebutted that Peabody's remains would not arrive for a week; that President Grant still had time to fulfill this resolution. **5**-Butler did not think a U. S. Navy ship could be readied in a week.

Acrimonious Debate on a U. S. Navy Reception for Peabody's Remains-2

6-Jones, replying that President Grant could still order ships that were ready, praised Peabody as the greatest philanthropist of the age and asked that the resolution be considered apart from party rancor. **7**-Ohio Representative Robert Cumming Schenck (1809-90) moved to adjourn. **8**-Indiana Representative Daniel Wolsey Voorhees (1827-97) regretted, in view of Peabody's vast gifts to U. S. education and science, that a move to adjourn was made. **9**-Representative Schenck,

defending his move to adjourn, challenged Peabody's patriotism during the Civil War. **10**-Jones expressed shame that his proposal to honor George Peabody had evoked rancorous debate and mentioned withdrawing it. **11**-But the House refused to adjourn. With Representative Schenck still objecting, the House passed the resolution. It went to the Senate on December 23, was examined and passed, and was signed into law by President Grant on January 10, 1870. **Ref. 138.**

Acrimonious Debate on a U. S. Navy Reception for Peabody's Remains-3

A *New York Tribune* editorial writer regretted that Peabody's Union loyalty had been questioned again in the U. S. House. The editorial writer pointed to the public vindication of Peabody as a staunch Unionist by Thurlow Weed (1797-1882), New York State newspaper owner and Republican Party political leader. Weed's widely printed vindication was publicly supported by Ohio Episcopal Bishop Charles Pettit McIlvaine. Both were President Lincoln's emissaries sent abroad in November 1861 to present the Union cause in order to keep Britain and France from aiding the Confederacy. Both stated that they consulted George Peabody in London, who helped them meet important British leaders.

One reason for the anti-Peabody bitterness in the U. S. House debate was given by author Allen Howard Welch. He wrote that "...many northerners were not sympathetic toward Peabody for remaining in England during the Civil War, and for his financial support to southern education after the war." **Ref. 139.**

H.M.S. *Monarch*'s Log

The U.S.S. *Plymouth* made good time at fourteen knots an hour and anchored at Funchall Bay, Madeira, Portugal, several days before H.M.S. *Monarch*. Mindful of the warship's cargo and mission, the *Monarch*'s captain proceeded cautiously on this its first transoceanic voyage. The *Monarch*'s log read:

> "Sat., Dec. 25, 1869: Christmas Day. Sighted English brigantine and exchanged colours. Sun., Dec. 26: Passed the brigantine *Anne*. Tues., Dec. 28: Exchanged colours with British barque *Coransius*. Wed., Dec. 29: Steering for Madeira. Thurs., Dec. 30: Standing along north side of Madeira. Two ships visible. *Donegal*, S.W. 1 mile. *Plymouth*, S.W. 11/2 miles. Fri., Dec. 31: Madeira. At single anchor in Funchall Bay. 11:15 P.M. Completed coaling. Received 200 tons. Sat., Jan. 1, 1870: New Year's Day. Madeira. Sun., Jan. 2: 1:40 P.M. HMS *Donegal* sails. 8 P.M. Weighed anchor and proceeded under steam. *Plymouth* in company."

The *Monarch* moved slowly from Madeira, using steam sparingly to save coal. Reaching Bermuda slightly in advance of the *Monarch*, the *Plymouth* took on provisions and despatches. **Ref. 140.**

Proposal to Name London Street After George Peabody

A London *Sportsman* writer complained on December 25, 1869, that talk of naming a newly opened London street after George Peabody had been subverted. The article read:

> "It was noted a short time since that the new street leading from the Mansion House to Blackfriar's Bridge should be called Peabody Street, in remembrance of the good man who has done so much for the poor of the metropolis. The proposal was a very reasonable one, for, if there is any honour at all in having an important thoroughfare named after one, the munificent American certainly deserved it; and, if there is not there was no harm in selecting a title that was quite as good as any other. The Board have, however, chosen to call the street Queen Victoria Street, as if there were not already sufficient thoroughfares so called in the metropolis to show that we are the most loyal people in the world. It is evident that benevolence is not a recommendation for the favours which they have to distribute, and it is well that Mr. Peabody at least does not require his name stuck up at a street corner to secure the friendly remembrance of the people of London." **Ref. 141.**

U. S. Reception, Portland Harbor, Maine

Which U. S. Port to Receive Peabody's Remains?

Not knowing at which U. S. port the funeral ships would anchor, U. S. Navy Secretary George Maxwell Robeson (1829-97) reportedly ordered New York City and Boston port admirals to confer with local authorities in case the landing was made in either city. Spirited rivalry arose between the port cities. Bostonians and New Yorkers each thought themselves the center of society and fashion. But on December 14, 1869, the British Admiralty chose Portland, Maine, because of its deeper harbor.

Bostonians were chagrined and were sure Portlanders would blunder. A news account described the petty Boston-Portland jealousy:

> "When the mighty men of Boston knew that England's..."Monarch" was bringing the body of the great philanthropist to his last resting place, they called a meeting and decided with what fitting honors and glories it would be received..., arranged a programme, and said, 'thus shall it be done to the man whom Boston delighteth to honor'; but, when the telegraph flashed the astounding news that little Portland was to be the port...all was changed in the minds of the mighty men.... Fearing that the Portlanders...would blunder...they wrote...to [nephew] Mr. George Peabody Russell...that nothing could be in worse taste...than to have any other funeral ceremonies than...in Peabody [Massachusetts]...." **Ref. 142.**

Approaching Portland, Maine

On Sunday, January 23, 1870, a cold and foggy morning, near the eastern extension of Long Island, New York, a *Plymouth* signal man hailed the passing steamer *Hunter* and asked for the bearing of Block Island, off Rhode Island. The *Hunter*'s captain, not comprehending and not knowing of the *Plymouth*'s errand, steamed on without answering until it came upon the *Monarch*,

The sight of the formidable gray-painted funeral ship with muted turret guns quite stopped the *Hunter*. The *Hunter*'s captain at last understood and signaled clear directions.

A false report later circulated that the *Hunter*'s captain had been disrespectful, a report the *Monarch*'s Captain James Edmund Commerell took pains to deny in print for he knew he was on a unique mission of goodwill.

Tuesday morning, January 25, 1870, broke clear and bright. At dusk the *Monarch* and the *Plymouth* approached the New England coastline. Thirty miles off Portland, Maine, the *Plymouth* boomed her cannon to signal their arrival and need for a pilot to guide their docking. Peabody's remains were near his native land. **Ref. 143.**

Portland Reception Plans, January 25-February 1, 1870

Bishop Charles Pettit McIlvaine wrote to a fellow clergyman about Portland, Maine, reception plans:

> "A fleet of Government ships under the command of the Admiral of our Navy [David Glasgow Farragut], has gone out to meet the *Monarch*, and convey her into Portland. A military escort has been ordered to accompany the body from the port to Danvers. Committees of various State Legislatures, and City Corporations, will be at the funeral, and in all respects very great honours, corresponding with those so handsomely paid in England, will be rendered to Philanthropy in the example of Mr. Peabody." **Ref. 144.**

Admiral David Glasgow Farragut was one of the original sixteen Peabody Education Fund trustees (February 7, 1867). Another connection was that while President Andrew Johnson faced impeachment, his political adviser suggested a cabinet reshuffle, with Farragut as U. S. Navy Secretary and George Peabody as U. S. Treasurer. But President Johnson did not follow this suggestion.

Also, the Portland reception was Farragut's last official duty. He was then age 68, ill with pneumonia, and died seven months later (August 14, 1870).

Farragut acknowledged his orders to U. S. Navy Secretary George M. Robeson:

> "I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 14th inst. in which you...tender me the management of the Naval part of the obsequies in honor of the late Mr. Peabody." **Ref. 145.**

Maine Legislative Wrangling

Maine's preliminary plans to receive Peabody's remains were published on December 18, 1869:

> "Two state military companies will act as escort and guard of honor. Flags on state buildings will be lowered to half-mast throughout the funeral fleet's presence. Funeral salutes will be fired from the arsenal guns at Portland and Fort Preble. The executive council and heads of departments are invited to participate." **Ref. 146.**

But serious wrangling developed over a Maine House of Representatives resolution (January 6, 1870) for all officials to attend the reception of Peabody's remains in a group: legislature, governor, state council, and department heads. Finally, a reconciliation committee resolved that the legislature would adjourn for the ceremony (January 26-28). **Ref. 147.**

Behind the Maine Dispute

A *Boston Times* article helped explain the wrangling in the Maine legislature:

> "It may explain many things concerning the proceedings in the [Maine] Legislature and elsewhere, when it is known that Mr. Peabody, although applied to, refused to subscribe to the Portland fund after the great fire of July 4, 1866. At least it is whispered that this fact had no little influence in disturbing harmonious action concerning the funeral." **Ref. 148.**

A deeper reason for the Maine dispute was political revenge. Some still believed Peabody to have been pro-Confederate and anti-Union, despite the public refutation by President Lincoln's emissaries Thurlow Weed and Ohio Episcopal Bishop Charles Pettit McIlvaine. **Ref. 149.**

Funeral Ships Reach Portland, Maine, January 25, 1870

Admiral Farragut arrived in Portland January 22, was met by the Portland funeral committee, was escorted to the Falmouth Hotel to rest, and later visited Portland City Hall to inspect funeral decorations.

Portland was full of young military men and thousands of curious visitors. Not knowing when the *Monarch* would arrive, time hung heavy. A ball was held in Fluento Hall on January 25 for the military. At the height of the merrymaking a messenger from Admiral Farragut's headquarters at Falmouth Hotel burst in to announce, "The *Monarch* has arrived."

U.S.S. *Plymouth*'s Captain William E. Macomb came ashore, reported to Admiral Farragut, and described the transatlantic voyage. On January 26, 1870, 10:30 A.M., the *Plymouth*'s guns saluted the receiving fleet of U. S. monitors. Cannons were fired from nearby Fort Preble. Crowds watched from shore.

Last Display of Peabody's Remains Aboard *Monarch*

H.M.S. *Monarch*'s Captain James E. Commerell made an official request. He told Admiral Farragut at the Falmouth Hotel that Her Majesty's government requested as a final mark of respect that the remains stay on board for two days (January 27-28, 1870). Farragut secured the approval of Maine Governor Joshua Lawrence Chamberlain (1828-1914), the Portland authorities, and various funeral committees. It was decided that the remains would not be landed until Saturday, January 29, 1870. **Ref. 150.**

Admiral Farragut's Report to the U. S. Navy Secretary

Admiral Farragut reported to U. S. Navy Secretary George M. Robeson (January 22 and 26, 1870):

"I have the honor to report the arrival of the Monarch and Plymouth, with the remains of the late Mr. Peabody, on the evening of the 25th inst. The night was tempestuous but the pilot succeeded in bringing them into the outer harbor. On the following morning your orders were carried out by the Monitors going out and escorting them in accordance to the programme laid down by myself.

"Captain Commerell called upon me today and expressed the hope that the body would be permitted to remain for two days in order that all persons might have an opportunity of seeing the manner in which the Admiralty had prepared it for the voyage. After consulting with the Governor of the State, the authorities of Portland and the Trustees, it was arranged that the body will not be landed until Saturday [Jan. 29] at which time I shall see that it is done with all the solemnity I can command. I have retained a tug (Leyden) from Boston and required an additional one from Portsmouth (Port Fire).... I shall visit the Monarch tomorrow accompanied by the State and City authorities." **Ref. 151.**

Last *Monarch* Honors, January 27-28, 1870

On Thursday and Friday, January 27 and 28, *Monarch* honor sentinels stood guard over Peabody's coffin. Thousands of visitors lined Portland harbor to gaze at the assembled naval armada. Tender craft, tugs, and small vessels carried all who wished to view the coffin in the mortuary chapel aboard the *Monarch*. **Ref. 152.**

Transfer From *Monarch* to Portland City Hall, January 29, 1870

At 10:45 A.M., Saturday morning, January 29, 1870, twelve *Monarch* seamen raised the coffin from its mortuary chapel dais, placed it on a wheeled bier, and brought it to the main deck by means of an inclined plane.

With mariners drawn to attention, the drummer sounded a muted roll and the ship's band played the somber "Death March" from *Saul*. Officers and crew bared their heads, the boatswain's whistle piped shrilly, the coffin was made fast with a roped rig and was swung over the side of the *Monarch* to the *Leyden*. The steam tug *Iris* pulled the *Leyden*, which bore the remains, followed by a double line of 22 small craft. The armada made a striking naval display as it covered the half mile from the outer harbor to Portland's Eastern Wharf.

Mournful music wafted across the water and flashing gunfire echoed from Fort Preble. Scarlet uniforms drew the eye in ranked array, and rows of oars were held aloft like wooden soldiers. The steam tug *Iris* approached the wharf, cast off her lines, and slipped out of the way. The two lines of boats closed ranks, bow to stern, along the Eastern Wharf. Admiral Farragut and his staff, British marines, and the *Monarch*'s officers stepped ashore. Twelve British sailors lifted the coffin from the *Leyden*, marched in slow step bearing the coffin on their shoulders, and moved solemnly to the end of the wharf. U. S sailors from the *Mahoning* relieved the twelve British pallbearers and placed the coffin in a waiting hearse. **Ref. 153.**

Portland Handing Over Speeches, January 29, 1870

The *Monarch*'s Captain Commerell saluted Maine Governor Chamberlain and said (in part):

"The remains of this good man were placed in my charge by Mr. Motley, Minister of the United States to the Court of St. James. The body was conveyed from the country of his adoption to the land of his birth. Governor Chamberlain, into your hands I now deliver my sacred trust. The sufferance [workman], the widow and the orphan on both sides of the Atlantic, both North and South, will henceforth bless [his] name...."

Governor Chamberlain replied (in part):

"I receive this sacred trust and express the appreciation of the American people for the tender honors with which the Queen of England restored to its native land this precious dust. England honored this man while he lived. When he ceased, she laid him with her Kings. You return without him but you bear a nation's gratitude, reverence, and love." **Ref. 154.**

The funeral procession then moved slowly from the wharf to Portland City Hall, where the coffin was placed on a catafalque and an honor guard was posted around it. Through Saturday and Sunday, January 29-30, the remains lay in state behind closed doors. **Ref. 155.**

Lying in State, Portland City Hall

On Monday, January 31, 1870, the Portland City Hall auditorium, 130 feet by 80 feet by 40 feet, then the second largest city hall auditorium in the U. S., was opened to a constant stream of visitors. Marine artist Harry Brown had worked for two weeks to convert the auditorium into a solemn and striking mausoleum. The auditorium required 7,000 yards of black alpaca and broadcloth alone to cover the ceiling. In all Brown used 30,000 yards of cloth, draped with velvet, containing silver stars, white rosettes, and heavy tassels. Nodding plumes brightened the ominous black. At the far end of the interior stood the superb catafalque on which the Peabody coffin rested. On either side of the catafalque were the national symbols of England and the U. S. Silver escutcheons studded the catafalque and bore such mottoes as: "Kind hearts are more than coronets," "But the greatest of these is Charity," and "Lay up for yourselves treasures in Heaven." **Ref. 156.**

George Peabody's British Property in Court

News reached the U. S. in late January 1870 that land George Peabody owned at Stockwell near London was the subject of a court inquiry. His last will left this property as part of a £200,000 ($1,000,000) gift to the Peabody Donation Fund, which built model apartments for London's working poor. Opportunity to buy this land (13 acres, one rod, and 14 perches) came in 1866. He paid £15,622 ($78,110) for it, intending it as part of his last gift to the Peabody Donation Fund.

Business friend and Peabody Donation Fund trustee Sir Curtis Miranda Lampson and others told Peabody at the time that, not being a British subject, he could not legally buy the land, own it, or dispose of it. Sir Curtis Lampson, Vermont-born but a naturalized British subject, using George

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Peabody's money, bought the land, held it in trust for George Peabody, who gave it to the Peabody Donation Fund. **Ref. 157.**

British law held that property held by a deceased foreigner must be returned to the Crown. This now happened. But it was understood from the first that after the facts were legally determined, the Crown would turn the property over to the trustees. Because George Peabody at death had been cast as a hero and because British mortmain law (death gifts of land or property) was not generally known in America, some U. S. newspapers were critical of this legal seizure of George Peabody's British property. **Ref. 158.**

British Court Finding

The court found that George Peabody was an alien who had purchased the land under arrangement with Sir Curtis Lampson, had given the land to the Peabody Donation Fund and, as the property was returned to the Crown, by royal prerogative that property was turned over to the trustees. **Ref. 159.**

Thus the matter ended, except for the sad light Sir Curtis Miranda Lampson's court statement shed on George Peabody as a bachelor in London. Sir Curtis said:

> "I knew the late Mr Peabody intimately from the year 1837 until his death.... He was never naturalized in England and had no permanent abode here. He lived at an hotel or lodgings or with friends, sometimes in England, sometimes in America but never had any settled establishment. He declined to accept an English title or to be naturalized...." **Ref. 160.**

Funeral train, Portland, Maine, to Peabody, Massachusetts, February 1, 1870

In Portland City Hall, February 1, 1870, prayers for the dead were read from the Episcopal Church ritual. Three hundred voices sang choruses from the *Messiah* and Mozart's *Requiem*. The coffin was borne out of City Hall and placed on a funeral hearse which proceeded through snow-covered Portland streets to the railway station.

At noon while snow still fell, twelve *Plymouth* sailors placed the coffin aboard Eastern Railroad funeral train's car No. 77. This car had earlier been specially decorated in Salem, Massachusetts, by Colonel William Beale of Boston. The seats had been removed, the interior draped with black serge and white alpaca, the windows and doors covered with drapery, and the floor carpeted in black and green. The interior roof was hung with folds of alternate black and white cloth. At either end of the car were British and U. S. flags. In the center the coffin rested on a black velveted dais ten feet long. Decorating the dais were silver bullion rings, hanging tassels, rosettes, and heavy silver lace. The whole was an imposingly regal funeral car.

Four companies of the Fifth U. S. Artillery Battalion filled the first five cars, followed by official delegates and the press. At 1:00 P.M. bells tolled, the band played a dirge, and the funeral train moved through the swirling snow from Portland to Kennebunk, Maine; to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where there was a change of engines. The new engine bore the name "George

Peabody," not for the banker-philanthropist but for a distant cousin with the same name, George Peabody (1804-92), president of the Eastern Railroad, the son of Joseph Peabody of Salem. **Ref. 161**

Funeral Train to Peabody, Massachusetts

At 2:00 P.M., the funeral train passed through Newburyport, Massachusetts, where George Peabody at age sixteen had worked in his older brother David Peabody's drapery shop, through Ipswich and Beverly, and at 5:00 P.M. entered Peabody, Massachusetts. Here, at his request in his will, his remains rested for a week at the Peabody Institute. **Ref. 162.**

Last Funeral Honors, Peabody, Massachusetts

Peabody Institute Library, Peabody, Massachusetts

Boston decorator C. W. Barth and staff had transformed the Peabody Institute library reading room into a funeral reception hall. The coffin rested on a canopied catafalque draped in mourning. Above and near the casket, in a specially built case, was the lunch box he carried each day from his lodging to his office. Displayed with it were the honors George Peabody had received:

1-The porcelainized miniature portrait Queen Victoria had specially made of herself for him (delivered to him in March 1867). **2**-The Congressional gold medal and resolution of praise for his Peabody Education Fund (Congressional bill introduced and signed, March 5 to 18, 1867). **3**-The freedom of the City of London in a gold box (July 10, 1862). **4**-The parchment scroll of honorary membership in the ancient guild of Clothworkers (July 2, 1862). **5**-The parchment scroll of honorary membership in the ancient guild of Fishmongers (April 19, 1866). **6**-Honorary Doctor of Civil Law degree from Oxford University (June 26, 1867). **7**-Honorary Doctor of Law degree from Harvard University (July 17, 1867). **Ref. 163. Ref. 164.**

Prince Arthur's Attendance

At Peabody's death, Queen Victoria's son, Prince Arthur (William Patrick Albert Arthur, 1850-1942, Duke of Connaught), was on a Canadian tour. British Ambassador to the U. S. Sir Edward Thornton received Queen Victoria's approval for Prince Arthur to visit the U. S. Prince Arthur left Montreal, Canada, on January 20, 1870, and went to Washington, D. C., where he met President U. S. Grant.

On January 27, 1870, Prince Arthur's military aide, Lieutenant Colonel H. Elphinstone, wrote to Queen Victoria's advisor in England: "Should Mr. Peabody's funeral take place soon... Col. Elphinstone thought it would be a gracious act on the part of the Prince to attend." Prince Arthur went from Washington, D. C., to New York City to Boston and on February 8 to Peabody, Massachusetts. **Ref. 165.**

Uneasiness About Robert E. Lee's Possible Attendance at the Peabody Funeral

Chance Peabody-Lee Meeting, West Virginia, July 23 to August 29, 1869

As mentioned, Robert E. Lee and George Peabody met by chance July 23 to August 29, 1869, at White Sulphur Springs health spa in West Virginia, soon after Peabody had doubled his Peabody Education Fund donation to $2 million on June 29, 1869. Lee was then president of Washington College, Lexington, Virginia (renamed Washington and Lee University, 1871).

Present also by chance were northern and southern statesmen, educators, and other former military leaders. Peabody and Lee talked, dined together, and were photographed together and with other prominent guests. Resolutions of praise for Peabody written by former Virginia Governor and Confederate General Henry Alexander Wise (1806-76) were read to Peabody amid a crowd on July 28, 1869.

A Peabody Ball was held on August 11, 1869. Peabody, too ill to attend, heard the gaiety from his cottage. The informal talks on the education needs of the South set a precedent for later significant conferences on southern education.

Besides a small gift to help restore Lee's church in Lexington, Virginia, Peabody also gave Lee's college Virginia bonds for a mathematics professorship. These Virginia bonds, redeemed in 1881, totaled $60,000. Peabody left White Sulphur Springs on August 30, 1869, accompanied by Lee for a short distance, in a special railroad car provided by Baltimore & Ohio Railroad President John Work Garrett. Peabody died two months later, November 4, 1869. Lee died less than fourteen months later, October 12, 1870. **Ref. 166.**

Historian Reniers on Peabody's Presence at White Sulphur Springs

On Peabody's presence at White Sulphur Springs and on the August 11, 1869, Peabody Ball, historian Perceval Reniers wrote:

> "The affair that did most to revive [the southerners'] esteem was the Peabody Ball...given to honor...Mr. George Peabody.... Everything was right for the Peabody Ball. Everybody was ready for just such a climax, the background was a perfect build-up. Mr. Peabody appeared at just the right time and lived just long enough. A few months later it would not have been possible, for Mr. Peabody would be dead." **Ref. 167.**

Robert E. Lee Too Ill to Attend the Funeral

Although invited to the Peabody funeral, Robert E. Lee explained his illness in a January 26, 1870, letter to mutual friend William Wilson Corcoran, who had been with them at White Sulphur Springs. Lee wrote to Corcoran:

> "I am sorry I cannot attend the funeral obsequies of Mr. Peabody. It would be some relief to witness the respect paid to his remains, and to participate in commemorating his virtues; but I am unable to undertake the journey. I have been sick all the winter, and am still under medical treatment. I particularly regret that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing

you. Two trustees of Washington College will attend the funeral. I hope you can join them." **Ref. 168.**

The same day Lee wrote to Corcoran (January 26, 1870), one of the two Washington College trustees who planned to attend also wrote Corcoran:

"I first thought that General Lee should not go, but have now changed my mind. Some of us believe that if you advise the General to attend he would do so. Use your own discretion in this matter." **Ref. 169.**

Lee Urged Not to Attend

Robert Charles Winthrop, who was to deliver Peabody's funeral eulogy on February 8, 1870, was also concerned that Lee might attend. He and others feared that a demonstration against Lee might mar the ceremony. On February 2, 1870, Winthrop wrote a confidential private letter to Baltimorean John Pendleton Kennedy:

"There is apprehension here, that if Lee should come to the funeral, something unpleasant might occur, which would be as painful to us as to him. Would you contact friends to impart this to the General? Please do not mention that the suggestion came from me." **Ref. 170.**

Winthrop also wrote in confidence to W. W. Corcoran:

"I write to you in absolute confidence. Some friends of ours, whose motives cannot be mistaken, are very anxious that Genl. Lee should not come to the funeral next week. They have also asked me to suggest that. Still there is always apprehension that from an irresponsible crowd there might come some remarks which would be offensive to him and painful to us all. I am sure he would be the last person to involve himself or us, needlessly, in a doubtful position on such an occasion. The newspapers at first said that he was not coming. Now, there is an intimation that he is. I know of no one who could [more] effectively give the right direction to his views than yourself. Your relation to Mr. Peabody & to Mr. Lee would enable you to ascertain his purposes & shape his course wisely.... I know of no one else to rely on." **Ref. 171.**

Lee wrote his daughter Mildred Lee (b. 1846) the same day as Winthrop wrote (February 2, 1870) that he was too ill to attend: "I am sorry that I could not attend Mr. Peabody's funeral, but I did not feel able to undertake the journey, especially at this season." **Ref. 172.**

Corcoran replied to Winthrop that Lee had no intention of coming. He could not imagine, he wrote, that so good and great a man as Lee would receive anything but a kind reception. Corcoran himself was ill. He wrote to Lee his regret that he could not attend to pay his respects to "my valued old friend." He later read with sad interest of Winthrop's eulogy and of George Peabody's final burial. **Ref. 173.**

In Peabody, Massachusetts, February 1-8, 1870

Fitch Poole's Diary

Fitch Poole (1803-73), first librarian of the Peabody Institute Library, Peabody, Massachusetts, made these entries in his diary on George Peabody's death, eulogy, funeral, and burial:

"1869, Nov. 4: Thursday. Geo. Peabody died at 11 & 1/2 o'clock in London. Nov. 5: News came this day of the death of Geo. Peabody last night 1/2 past 11 o'clock in London. Closed the Institute. Nov. 7: Saw Mrs. Daniels about funeral [George Peabody's sister, Mrs. Judith née Peabody Russell Daniels, 1799-1879]. Nov. 8: Closed Institute one week. Front portion in mourning. 1870, Jan. 31: Went to Portland. Large no. of visitors from abroad. Snow. P.M. Feb. 1: Storm continued. Committee called at Mayor's office and at City Hall where funeral exercises were held. At 1 o'clock started for home. Feb. 3: At Institute. Many visitors. Got out program with Abbott. Feb. 4: Very cold. About zero. Great throngs at Institute. Eve'g. Committee at Institute. Got my tickets. Feb. 5: Snow and variable. At Institute. 6617 visitors. Eve'g. Committee met. Got my 5 tickets. Feb. 6: Bushby & Hart [photographers] taking views in Library room. Feb. 7: At Institute. Over 8000 visitors. People busy making preparations for tomorrow. Feb. 8: Cloudy & wet snow storm. Town full of strangers. Several of our friends here.... Eve'g. tired out. **Ref. 174.**

Lack of U. S. Government Representation, February 8, 1870

In view of the large British representation, both Bishop McIlvaine and Robert C. Winthrop worried about the lack of U. S. government representation at the final Peabody funeral. McIlvaine wrote to U. S. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish:

"There is want of proper representation of the government at the final service next Tuesday at Peabody. Admiral Farragut is exhausted and unable to attend. Since the British minister and Prince Arthur will be there it is important to our own credit for the United States government to be represented. The popular feeling exceeds my expectation and would well entertain even the appearance of the President at the funeral [President U. S. Grant was also a Peabody Education Fund trustee]." **Ref. 175.**

R. C. Winthrop also wrote to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish:

"I returned from Portland last evening. The ceremonies were admirably conducted. Delays were tedious but unavoidable. The present delay at Peabody, Massachusetts, is due to a request of George Peabody himself. He had told his friends he would like to rest for a week in his native town before being put under the ground. Admiral Farragut returned to New York exhausted. I hope the Peabody funeral goes as well as it did in Portland. Prince Arthur, Minister Edward Thornton, and Captain Commerell are to be there. Pity that some

chiefs of the United States military or the civil government cannot be there. The Chairman of the Danvers committee came to see me and asked if you have given the order for a battalion of regular soldiers to be here.

"I wish you could attend yourself, or President Grant and General Sherman. It would lessen the embarrassment of the Prince and British minister being there." **Ref. 176.**

South Congregational Church, Peabody, Massachusetts, February 8, 1870

Peabody's 96-day funeral odyssey was frequently marked by storms. Snow fell on February 8, 1870, during the final service and eulogy at South Congregational Church, Peabody, Massachusetts, and at the burial, Harmony Grove Cemetery, Salem, Massachusetts. **Ref.. 177**

Yet thousands poured into tiny Peabody, Massachusetts. Dignitaries came by special trains from Boston, including Prince Arthur and his retinue, British Minister to the U. S. Edward Thornton, Massachusetts Governor William Claflin (1818-1905) and his staff, Robert Charles Winthrop, former U. S. Minister to Britain Charles Francis Adams, Harvard University President Charles William Eliot (1834-1926), and others. The large crowds were quiet and respectful. **Ref. 178.**

South Congregational Church, Peabody, Massachusetts

At 10:30 A.M., thirteen pallbearers lifted the coffin from its catafalque in the Peabody Institute Library main reading room and bore it to a black hearse drawn by six horses escorted by military men. Over a hundred carriages followed slowly through crowd-lined Peabody streets to the South Congregational Church. Snow fell. The wind blew.

South Congregational Church filled quickly. Prince Arthur, in the seventh pew from the pulpit, held all eyes. Behind sat the *Monarch*'s Captain Commerell, the *Plymouth*'s Captain Macomb, Admiral Farragut's staff, Massachusetts Governor William Claflin, Maine Governor Joshua L. Chamberlain, and the mayors of eight New England cities. On the first six rows sat George Peabody's relatives, elderly citizens who knew him in youth, and the trustees of his institutes and funds. Anthems were sung. Scripture was read. All awaited Robert Charles Winthrop's eulogy. **Ref. 179.**

R. C. Winthrop's Eulogy

Robert Charles Winthrop, distinguished statesman and descendant of the first governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, rose for the eulogy. He said:

"What a career this has been whose final scene lies before us! Who can contemplate his rise from lowly beginnings to these final royal honors without admiration? His death, painless and peaceful, came after he completed his great dream and saw his old friends and loved ones.

"He had ambition and wanted to do grand things in a grand way. His public charity is too well known to bear repetition and I believe he also did much private good which remains unknown. The trusts he established, the institutes he founded, the buildings he

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raised stand before all eyes. I have authority for saying that he planned these for many years, for in private talks he told me all he planned and when I expressed my amazement at the magnitude of his purpose, he said to me with guileless simplicity:

"'Why Mr. Winthrop, this is no new idea to me. From the earliest of my manhood, I have contemplated some such disposition of my property; and I have prayed my heavenly Father, day by day, that I might be enabled, before I died, to show my gratitude for the blessings which He has bestowed upon me by doing some great good to my fellow-men.'"

The underlined words are engraved on George Peabody's marker in Westminster Abbey, London, where his remains rested for 30 days, November 12 to December 11, 1869. That marker with the above words on it was refurbished for the February 12, 1995, bicentennial ceremony at Westminster Abbey.

Winthrop continued:

"To measure his gifts in dollars and pounds or in the number of people served is inadequate. He did something more. The successful way he arranged the machinery of world-wide philanthropy compels attention. It is a lesson that cannot be lost to history. It has inspired and will continue to inspire others to do likewise. This was the greatness of his life.

"Now, all that is mortal of him comes back, borne with honors that mark a conquering hero. The battle he fought was the greed within him. His conquest was the victory he achieved over the gaining, hoarding, saving instinct. Such is the conqueror we make ready to bury in the earth this day.

"And so was fulfilled for him a prophecy he heard once as the subject of a sermon, on which by some force of reflection lingered in his mind and which he more than once mentioned to me:

"'And it shall come to pass in that day, that the light shall not be clear nor dark; but it shall be one day which shall be known to the Lord, not day, or night: but it shall come to pass that at evening time it shall be light.'" [Note: Winthrop stated that George Peabody first heard this text, Zechariah 14:6-7, in a sermon by the Rev. Dr. Lothrop of Brattle Street, Boston, date not known]. **Ref. 180.**

Winthrop concluded:

"And so we bid thee farewell, noble friend. The village of thy birth weeps. The flower of Essex County stands at thy grave. Massachusetts mourns her son. Maine does honor to thee. New England and Old England join hands because of thee. The children of the South praise thy works. Chiefs of the Republic stand with royalty at thy bier. And so we bid thee farewell, friend of mankind." **Ref. 181.**

Harmony Grove Cemetery, Salem, Massachusetts, February 8, 1870

The burial scene at Harmony Grove Cemetery, Salem, Massachusetts, was described in the *New York Times*:

> "There were about two hundred sleigh coaches in the procession. The route was shortened somewhat in consequence of the prevalence of the storm. On arriving at the Peabody tomb, there was no special service, the coffin being placed reverently therein, after which the procession returned to the Institute, and the great pageantry attending the obsequies of the great philanthropist was ended." **Ref. 182.**

Family Burial Plot

Harmony Grove Cemetery, first laid out in 1840, had been a thick walnut grove when Peabody was a boy. On a knoll where he had once played he had chosen the family burial plot. Here he had brought together the remains of his mother, father, sisters, and brothers. Here he was interred. Ninety-six days of unprecedented British-U. S. funeral honors had ended. **Ref. 183.**

Conclusion

George Peabody's transatlantic funeral was unprecedented for an American without office or title. It commanded international attention, large press coverage, and huge crowds. Admiration for his rags-to-riches career, appreciation for his philanthropy, respect for his efforts at U. S.-British friendship--all played a part.

The unique Peabody funeral came about by chance, by his death in London at the height of the *Alabama* Claims controversy, when the U. S. was angry over the lives and treasure lost by havoc wrought by the British-built Confederate raider warship C.S.S. *Alabama*, and when Britons resented U. S. demands for reparations. When Peabody's last will became known requesting burial near his Massachusetts birthplace, British leaders saw a way to ease the *Alabama* and other U. S.-British tensions arising from the Civil War. Britain's near regal use of the occasion to return his remains for burial in the U. S. was done more from sincere respect than with cynical intent.

Such unusual British honors compelled U. S. officials to attempt equal honors. In the flood of news on his death, career, influence, and international funeral, the British press seemed more admiring and respectful.

Despite many U. S. admirers, some radical northern extremists saw as traitorous his $1.4 million Peabody Institute of Baltimore (opened October 25, 1866) and even more so his $2 million Peabody Education Fund for public education in the former Confederate South (from 1867). These critics disdained his commercial career in the South, thought his wealth ill gained, considered his philanthropy self-serving, and may have thought his funeral honors vain, wasteful, and trivial.

But most observers and newspaper readers who saw nobility in what he tried to do viewed his funeral honors with respect and approval. Sensing the yearning for the heroic in human nature, most were warmed by the grandeur of his funeral.

Afterword-Since His Death

False Reports of Statues in Rome and New York City

After Peabody's death, there were false reports that statues of him would be erected in Rome, Italy, and in New York City. The Rome report stemmed from his audience with Pope Pius IX (February 24 or 25, 1868), followed by his gift of $19,300 to the Vatican's charitable San Spirito Hospital, Rome. **Ref. 184.**

Merchants met at the New York City Stock Exchange, November 20, 1869, formed an association, and collected funds to erect a statue of Peabody in New York City, but opponents spoke against the idea and it was dropped.

New York City banker J. H. Bloodgood made another attempt on November 23, 1869, formed an association, collected funds, and published a subscription list, but it too failed. The reason later given was that mounting international Peabody funeral honors offended some patriotic believers in republican simplicity. **Ref. 185.**

Copy of Peabody's London Statue Erected at Peabody Institute of Baltimore, 1890

Robert Garrett (1847-96), Baltimore and Ohio Railroad president (1884-87), paid for a replica of U. S. sculptor William Wetmore Story's 1869 London statue of George Peabody, erected in front of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore, April 7, 1890. **Ref. 186.**

George Peabody Centennial Celebration, Peabody, Massachusetts, 1895

Annual memorial dinners held in Peabody, Massachusetts, in the 1870s and after, culminated in a February 18, 1895, George Peabody Centennial Celebration. Besides speeches by Massachusetts dignitaries, Queen Victoria's cablegram read (in part):

> "...the grateful remembrance of [George Peabody] and of his noble munificent deeds of charity in this country, is fresh in my heart and in that of my people."

Johns Hopkins University President Daniel Coit Gilman (1831-1908) wrote (in part):

> "...all the Peabody foundations work well. Of two, the Peabody Educational Fund for the promotion of education in the Southern states, and the Peabody institute of Baltimore, I can speak with personal knowledge...There is good reason for saying that the gifts of Johns Hopkins to Baltimore were the natural sequence of the gift of Peabody, and that the John F. Slater fund for the education of freedmen was largely the result of Mr. Peabody's influence."
>
> **Ref. 187.**

Failed Attempt: Peabody Statue in Statuary Hall, U. S. House of Representatives, 1885-96

An 1885 conference of Virginia Superintendents of Education first proposed a George Peabody statue in Statuary Hall, U. S. House of Representatives, where each state has statues of its two greatest citizens. In annual reports from 1891 and in 1895 to the Virginia General Assembly, Peabody Education Fund administrator J. L. M. Curry urged the twelve southern states served by the fund to contribute toward such a statue.

Despite interested officials in Virginia in 1895, in South Carolina in 1896 (where $1,500 was appropriated), and in Tennessee (1896), no statue materialized. The reason for the failed attempt is not known, whether from lack of funds or because of the strong tradition of two individuals from each state in Statuary Hall. **Ref. 188.**

Election to New York University Hall of Fame, 1900

On the beautiful campus colonnade overlooking the Hudson River, the New York University Hall of Fame in 1900 intended, like the Pantheon in Paris and Westminster Abbey in London, to honor the greatest U. S. leaders. In an elaborate election process George Peabody was one of 29 great Americans elected from the 1,000 the public submitted. In 1901 a Peabody bronze tablet marked his place. Inscribed on it from his February 7, 1867, Peabody Education Fund founding letter were these two sentences:

> "Looking forward beyond my stay on earth I see our country becoming richer and more powerful. But to make her prosperity more than superficial, her moral and intellectual development should keep pace with her material growth."

On May 12, 1926, above this bronze tablet, a grand nephew unveiled a George Peabody bronze bust by U. S. sculptor Hans Schuler (1874-1952). George Peabody College for Teachers President Bruce Ryburn Payne (1874-1937) gave the main address. **Ref. 189.**

Bronze Doors, West Entrance, U. S. Capitol Building

During 1904-08 artist Louis Amateis (1855-1913) was commissioned to design a transom panel tableau on two bronze doors for the west entrance, U. S. Capitol Building. His tableau design, called "Apotheosis of America," symbolized U. S. intellectual development and featured images of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Ralph Waldo Emerson, George Peabody, Johns Hopkins, and Horace Mann. **Ref. 190.**

Proposed U. S. Postage Stamp

Tennesseans in 1941 proposed unsuccessfully a commemorative George Peabody U. S. postage stamp . A similar unsuccessful proposal was made in 1993 by Massachusetts citizens for a commemorative George Peabody U. S. postage stamp for the bicentennial of his birth in 1995.

Bicentennial of His Birth, February 18, 1995

For Peabody's 200th birthday (February 18, 1995) Yale University's Peabody Museum of Natural History displayed his life, work, and the influence of his nephew Othniel Charles Marsh (1831-99), first U. S. paleontology professor at Yale, whose education and career his uncle made financially possible.

The Peabody Institute of Baltimore organized a traveling exhibit of his life and work which was shown at the Peabody Trust in London, February 18, 1995, and at major U. S. Peabody institutions through 1995-96.

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At Peabody College of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, students, faculty, and friends celebrated the bicentennial with "A Day of Service," March 25, 1995. They cleaned, painted, and refurbished the Edgehill community surrounding the campus in Nashville.

Westminster Abbey, London, held a "Bicentenary Service of Thanksgiving for the Life and Work of George Peabody, 1795-1869," November 16, 1995. Participants included **1**-Peabody Homes of London tenant George Johnstone, **2**-U. S. Ambassador to Britain Admiral William J. Crowe, Jr., **3**-Peabody Trust chairman Sir William Benyon, and **4**-Reverend Ronald Bowlby, leader in British low-income housing improvement. Of the 1,400 people attending the Abbey celebration, 1,200 were from the 27,000 tenants currently living in London's Peabody apartments.

The Peabody Historical Society, Peabody, Massachusetts, held a bicentennial dinner and reception, September 30, 1995, with Peabody College of Vanderbilt University Dean James Pellegrino as speaker.

Bicentennial speakers at the Peabody Institute Library, Danvers, Massachusetts, included **1**-Franklin and Betty J. Parker, March 23, 1995; and **2**-collector Gordon Sykes, May 18, 1995, who described commemorative George Peabody glassware manufactured in Sunderland, England, and sold amid the publicity of his death and funeral. **Ref. 191.**

A Neglected Influence

In U. S.-British Relations

Peabody's dozen or so U. S.-British friendship dinners in London in the 1850s were admired by participants and friends and received good contemporary press notices. Yet recent historians have little noted or evaluated or credited the Peabody dinners with positive effect on the relations between the two countries.

Nor have recent historians noted Peabody's $15,000 loan to refurbish the U. S. exhibits at the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London, the first world's fair; nor his $10,000 gift for scientific equipment for the U. S. Second Grinnell Expedition's (1852-54) search for lost British Arctic explorer Sir John Franklin, which also marked the beginning of U. S. Arctic exploration.

Despite recent historians' neglect, George Peabody stands honorably in the shadow of these early instances of mid-nineteenth century international social and technical cooperation. **Ref. 192.**

In Finance

Economic historian Muriel Emmie Hidy concluded her examination of twenty years of Peabody's business career with this insight:

> "Peabody had in the space of one lifetime built up an international house in London. George Peabody & Co. was to continue to 1864 and on its foundations, J. S. Morgan later developed his business. George Peabody had performed the functions of a merchant and a merchant-banker. In the process he had acquired a private fortune, the disposal of which in later life has attached his name to educational, scientific and charitable institutions." **Ref. 193.**

In Philanthropy

Of Peabody's philanthropy business historian John Moody wrote:

"[Peabody's] business was that of the financier, a 'master of Capital.' In this field his success was enormous for the times, and his name grew constantly in English favor. He...became the greatest philanthropist of his time, refused a title of nobility from Queen Victoria, and died in 1869 in the possession of the thorough confidence of the English investing public." **Ref. 194.**

Last Hurrah

Bicentennial ceremonies of his birth, February 18, 1995, and relevant news accounts, may be the last hurrah for George Peabody at the end of the twentieth century. Yet his libraries, museums, Peabody College of Vandervilt University, and London housing still stand, serve, and echo his motto sent with his first gift: "Education: a debt due from present to future generations."

About the Authors and Sources

The authors met as students at Berea College near Lexington, Kentucky (1946-50), married (1950), taught at Ferrum College near Roanoke, Virginia (1950-52), and attended George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee (summers of 1951 and 1952, and September 1952 to August 1956).

Their research on George Peabody's educational philanthropy was first suggested, indirectly, by Harvard University history Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr. (1888-1965). In England the authors read George Peabody papers at the British Museum Library, Public Record Office, Westminster Abbey, Guildhall Record Office, Windsor Castle Royal Archives, Westminster Abbey, Treasurer-Solicitor's Office, General Register Office (Somerset House), London Guildhall Library, Clothworkers' Company, Fishmongers' Company, and elsewhere.

In the U. S. they read George Peabody papers **1**-in Massachusetts, at the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem; Essex County Courthouse, Salem; Boston Public Library; Peabody Historical Society; Peabody Museum of Harvard; Massachusetts Historical Society; and elsewhere. **2**-In Washington, D.C., at the Library of Congress and the National Archives. **3**-In New York, at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York Historical Society, and the University of Rochester. **4**-In Baltimore, at the Peabody Institute Library, Maryland Historical Society, Enoch Pratt Free Library, and Johns Hopkins University libraries. **5**-In Nashville, Tennessee, at Peabody College of Vanderbilt University archives and Fisk University Library.

They also consulted the Chicago Historical Society; Greenbrier Hotel at White Sulphur Springs in West Virginia; Maine State Library and Maine Historical Society; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and other depositories. The authors have published widely on George Peabody, on the history of U. S. education, and on comparative education.

Franklin Parker is Benedum Professor of Education Emeritus, West Virginia University, Morgantown (1968-86). He also taught at the universities of Texas (Austin, 1957-64), Oklahoma

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•(Known Peabody funeral costs): **1**-$240.00 listed in Peabody Papers, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. **2**-About $653.50 in Westminster Abbey, London [Westminster Abbey Muniments, "Funeral Fee Book 1811-1899," p. 231]. **3**-$2,802.80 paid by the State of Maine [Maine Executive Council, "Register of the Council," XXXIV (1870), pp. 110, 180-181, 318-319, 595-599, Maine State Library, Augusta, Maine]. **4**-$4,800.00 paid by the town of Peabody, Massachusetts [*Peabody Press* (Peabody, Massachusetts), March 23, 1870, p. 2, c. 5]. **5**-Total known costs, $8,496.30, not including considerable British Admiralty and other government costs; and U. S. Navy and other U. S. government costs.

184-(False reports of Peabody statue in Rome): *Dundee Courier and Argus* (Dundee, Scotland), November 9, 1869, p. 3, c. 5. •*Catholic Opinion* (London), November 20, 1869, p. 462, c. 1.

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186-(Copy of Story's London Peabody statue erected in Baltimore by Robert Garrett, 1890): Rossiter Johnson, ed., *Twentieth Century Biographical Dictionary of Notable Americans* (Boston: Biographical Society, 1904), Vol. 4, no page given. •James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, eds., *Appletons' Cyclopedia of American Biography* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1888), Vol. II, p. 609.

187-(Annual George Peabody birthday dinners in Peabody, Massachusetts): *Peabody Press* (Peabody, Massachusetts), February 24, 1869, p. 2, c. 2. •February 22, 1871, p. 2, c. 1. •February 21, 1872, p. 2, c. 2. •February 23, 1876, p. 2, c. 3.

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End

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